Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-195
Tuesday
12 October 1993

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FBIS-SOV-93-195 *12 October 1993*

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Caucasus, Russian Leaders Hold Summit in Moscow

Leaders Agree To End Bloodshed

LD0810122593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1209 GMT 8 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, October 8 (TASS)—Leaders of three Transcaucasian republics agreed at their summit meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Friday [8 October] to resort to urgent measures and stop the bloodshed in Transcaucasia.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia, Geydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan, Eduard Shevardnadze of Georgia and Boris Yeltsin of Russia discussed the crisis situation in Trancaucasia which emerged because of armed conflicts in the region and agreed to normalise the situation and restore peace there, the press service of the Russian president said on Friday.

The heads of state confirmed that their actions will strictly comply with the UN charter, the decisions of the UN Security Council, CSCE principles.

The four former Soviet republics will coordinate effort in order to end armed conflicts and violence and restore peace and security in Transcaucasia, according to the press service.

Leaders Comment on Meeting

LD0810135793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1308 GMT 8 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, October 8 (TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the leaders of three Caucasian republics—Geydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan, Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia and Eduard Shevardnadze of Georgia—held talks for about two hours in the Kremlin today.

Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan told journalists after the meeting that "a frank discussion was held of the situation in the Transcaucasia, particularly in Georgia, because the situation is the most complex there".

"Naturally, this is Georgia's internal affair, and neither of the others—Armenia, Russia and Azerbaijan—intends to intervene. But there is one problem which touches upon the interests of all countries in the region—railways. We discussed what joint efforts can ensure the normal functioning of the railways", Ter-Petrosyan said.

According to the Armenian president, an agreement was reached in Moscow to have guards from all the four countries accompany trains.

As concerns the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Armenian president expressed satisfaction that due to Russia's peace-making role relative peace has been reigning in the region for the past two months.

Ter-Petrosyan said he would meet Azeri President Geydar Aliyev in Moscow again soon.

Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze told journalists that participants in the Kremlin summit arrived at a conclusion that joint efforts were necessary to stabilise the situation in the Transcaucasian region. He said that not only the Caucasian nations must take part in these efforts but also Russia and other Commonwealth member countries.

"In this connection I have made a decision on Georgia's membership in the Commonwealth. We want to hold counsel with the leaders of Commonwealth states and discuss problems related to ensuring collective security".

Responding to a question whether he still believes that Russia was party to the tragedy in Sukhumi, Shevardnadze said, "I spoke about the forces that no longer are there and, hopefully, are removed finally and irrevocably".

The Georgian leader explained that he meant "the forces which protected the White House during the failed coup on October 3 and 4".

More on Leaders' Reactions

LD0810151693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1410 GMT 8 Oct 93

[From the "Panorama" program; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting between President of Russia Boris Yeltsin and leaders of Transcaucasus states—Geydar Aliyev, Eduard Shevardnadze, and Levon Ter-Petrosyan took place in the Kremlin today.

Taking part in the meeting on the Russian side were Viktor Chernomyrdin, prime minister; Andrey Kozyrev, foreign minister; and Pavel Grachev, defense minister. Here is our observer Viktor Levin:

[Levin] The meeting lasted one hour and forty-five minutes. Geydar Aliyev, president of Azerbaijan, was the first to leave once the meeting was over. Journalists tried to glean some news, but this experienced politician was tight-lipped.

[Aliyev] "These talks are always useful and have yielded results. I am satisfied that we have met and exchanged views on the situation in the Transcaucasus and in the Caucasus region in general. The most important thing is that we have had a meeting."

[Levin] Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of Armenia, was more talkative.

[Ter-Petrosyan] "There is one problem which affects the interests of all these states—the railways. Our entire

conversation was about how to ensure, through collective effort, the normal functioning of these railways. We have drawn up certain measures. There is no question of using the Russian troops. There is an idea that joint protection of these railways could be organized, that is to say that trainloads would be accompanied. Well, all in all, experts and specialists must have a meeting and get to the bottom of these details."

[Levin] Asked about Nagorno-Karabakh, Levon Ter-Petrosyan said:

[Ter-Petrosyan] "The situation is more or less stable. Thanks to Russia's efforts relative peace has reigned, as it were, for already two months. The cease-fire has been extended for another month. This creates an atmosphere to seriously study some solid settlements plans. The point now is to establish peace."

[Levin] We had to wait a further 20 minutes for Eduard Shevardnadze, the Georgian leader. I do not know what was taking place during that time. When Eduard Amvrosiyevich came down, I asked him for his impressions from the meeting.

[Shevardnadze] "The meetings are not over yet. We will have talks with the prime minister and other leaders. Important agreements will be signed now. We have discussed issues connected with the situation in the region, in particular in Georgia. All in all, the conclusion we reached is that serious measures are needed to stabilize the general situation and the general atmosphere and that collective efforts are needed, not just of Transcaucasus states, but also of Russia and other CIS states. In connection with this I decided that Georgia will join this Commonwealth, this organization."

[Levin] This is sensational. We, the CIS countries, have become even larger. This is determined not by force, but by goodwill; not by ideological considerations, but by vital necessities. It is the basis on which our Commonwealth really can develop and will develop—of this I am confident. The Georgian leader was asked whether he has changed his views concerning the complicity of certain Russian forces in the events in Sukhumi.

[Shevardnadze] "Nothing has changed. I spoke of some forces, certain forces, as it were. It seems to me that these forces have now been removed—finally and irrevocably. There is now an opportunity for building new relations.

[Unidentified correspondent] "You have in mind the forces that defended the White House?

[Shevardnadze] "Naturally."

Leaders Discuss Return of Russian Troops

NC0810172293 Baku TURAN in English 1352 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, October 8 (TURAN)—The meeting of the leaders of the three Transcaucasian republics and Russia finished in Moscow today at day time.

As Moscow correspondent of TURAN reports, the parties signed a document on the security of Poti-Yerevan-Baku railroad.

As reported, the Russian party offered to sign a communique, consisting of four articles, which envisages a significant strengthening of Russia's positions and role in the Transcaucasian region. In particular, the question was the return of the Russian troops to this region. But this document was not signed.

To all appearances, this meeting was rather of a demonstrative character for all the parties, when the hopes for the peacemaking role of the CSCE and the UN in the region did not justify themselves, and Russia takes purposeful steps to restore its positions in this region. Besides, after the bloodshed in Moscow, Yeltsin needs to restore its image of a peacemaker.

This meeting have to be qualified as a beginning of a series of many partial consultations, which can finish by adopting a more significant documents, the employee of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, speaking on conditions of anonymity, told TURAN's correspondent.

Chernomyrdin Expresses Support for Georgia

LD0810165393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1440 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] [Announcer] Our studio has just received a telephone call from our correspondent Valeriy Kiosa from the government building on Staraya Square.

Valeriy, you were intending to report on the meeting of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, but you then went off for a meeting with [Prime Minister] Viktor Chernomyrdin. With what would you like to begin?

[Valeriy Kiosa] Naturally, I will begin with the meeting with the Russian prime minister. He invited a group of journalists to meet him. As you know, Chernomyrdin took part in the meeting of the leaders of Russia, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan that took place in Moscow today.

Literally a few minutes ago, he told us that after the meeting—which discussed, inter alia, the question of Georgia's entry into the Commonwealth of Independent States—Chernomyrdin gave instructions on telephone calls to be made to all the Commonwealth heads of states. He has just completed these telephone conversations and told journalists that the decision has been made on accepting Georgia into the Commonwealth of States. All the CIS heads of states agreed to this. The relevant documents are now being prepared so that this can be drawn up officially with signatures.

Chernomyrdin said that another question that was discussed at this meeting was the question of how to provide support for Georgia now. The relevant proposals are being prepared. A working group has been set up with representatives of the four states whose leaders participated in today's meeting in the Kremlin. In the first

instance, it is a matter of protecting the railway that runs along the coast. The second question was how to put it into operation more quickly. Chernomyrdin said this group will also work tomorrow.

He said that Russia would take part in resolving all these problems but, primarily, the prime minister stressed, these are not military measures. We do not intend to act with weapons in our hands, Chernomyrdin said.

He went on to say: We support the Shevardnadze government. We want Georgia to maintain its integrity. We want military actions to stop as soon as possible there.

Chernomyrdin said that Georgia would be given economic aid and, primarily, food aid. The main thing, which the Russian prime minister stressed once again at the end of his short interview, the main thing is for peace to reign in Georgia. Peace is the first thing that is required, and then we shall begin creating, Chernomyrdin said. He said that all the presidents of the Commonwealth countries with whom he had talked to by telephone today had supported him on this.

[Announcer] Valeriy, could you please say a few words about the meeting of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers.

[Kiosa] The meeting of the Presidium today discussed the fundamental work of a group of legal experts—the draft of the civil code for Russia. At today's meeting, it was even called the country's second constitution since it regulates all the economic activities of citizens and organizations. During the discussion, the decision was made to adopt the document as a basis and to give the instruction for work on it to be completed. New traffic rules were also adopted.

And, for my last report, it was decided today that the next meeting of the Russian Council of Ministers will be held on 28 October. That is all for now.

Leaders Agree on Georgia's Entry Into CIS

LD0810201393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1755 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Georgia on Friday [8 October] became a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin told reporters on Friday following the summit between leaders of Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Answering a question put by INTERFAX, the Russian Prime Minister said that the republic's leader Eduard Shevardnadze made the application for Georgia's entry into the C.I.S. during the meeting of the four leaders in the Kremlin.

On the instruction of Yeltsin, Ter-Petrosyan, Aliyev and Shevardnadze, Viktor Chernomyrdin had telephone talks with the leaders of other C.I.S. member-states who agreed to Georgia's membership. Chernomyrdin was unable to contact with the speaker of the Belarussian parliament Stanislav Shushkevich. The Russian premier has said that Georgia will sign official documents on joining the C.I.S. at the next C.I.S. summit.

Chernomyrdin promised Russia's every assistance to Georgia, excluding military. The largest amount of assistance will be offered to refugees from Abkhazia and in unblocking transport routes.

Georgia has become the 11th state on the territory of the former Soviet Union to become a C.I.S. member.

Armenian Official Calls Meeting 'Productive'

LD1110191193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1644 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By correspondents Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] The press secretary of Armenia's president, Aram Abramian, has described last Friday's [8 October] meeting between the leaders of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Russia in Moscow as "productive". "The time for it was ripe, and all the parties concerned expressed willingness to hold such meetings in the future whenever necessary," he said.

Even though no documents were signed on the outcome of the Moscow summit, the very fact that the political and economic situation in the region came under discussion is of great importance, Abramian stressed. He pointed to the agreement to make every effort to resume the work of railways in Transcaucasia and form collective forces to guard the trains and accompany them. "This idea is acceptable to Armenia, but for its implementation certain diplomatic and political work is needed, since it is necessary to determine the size of the required military contingent and its status. This will have to be done by experts and diplomats," Abramian said.

With reference to the problem of safety on highways the press secretary said that this issue is extremely important for all members of the CIS, particularly for Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

According to him, President Levon Ter-Petrosyan has said more than once that Armenia's roads are open to any transit cargoes in any direction. "Unlike Georgia, Armenia keeps its roads and railways under full control and, unlike Azerbaijan, it has never sought to achieve its goals with the help of a blockade, by depriving neighboring countries of vitally important items and goods," Abramian said.

A meeting between Geydar Aliyev and Levon Ter-Petrosyan did not take place because it had not been planned, but the two leaders stated that they are prepared to meet each other any time and discuss pressing issues.

With reference to Georgia's possible membership of the Commonwealth of Independent States Abramian pointed out that, in his view, this would stabilize the domestic situation in Georgia itself and, consequently, in the region, which might have a favorable effect on the situation in Armenia.

Leaders 'Failed To Agree on Anything'

MK0910113193 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[Aydyn Mekhtiyev report under the "Meeting" rubric: "Four Leaders Failed To Agree on Anything, but Georgia Joined CIS"]

[Text] On 8 October, the presidents of Russia, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan held talks in the Moscow Kremlin. The talks were conducted at the initiative of the Russian side. A document proposed by the Russian side called, among other things, for setting up Russian military bases in the Transcaucasus and working out measures to jointly protect the borders of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan with neighboring countries—Turkey and Iran. In addition, the negotiating sides were asked to pledge to take urgent steps to lift the blockade of transportation lines. Tbilisi and Yerevan welcomed the Russian initiative. Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze was extremely concerned about the increased activity of former president Gamsakhurdia's loyalists in western Georgia, all the more so because the Georgian president is unlikely to withstand the onslaught of the armed opposition without Russia's military assistance. For its part, Yerevan argued for the draft communique, bearing in mind that the implementation of the document's provisions would lift Armenia's transportation blockade. Hence, the Russian side would find it easy to persuade the leaders of Armenia and Georgia to adopt the communique.

In another Transcaucasus republic, Azerbaijan, the Russian initiative, however, drew a mixed reaction. Whereas Levon Ter-Petrosyan and Eduard Shevardnadze, the presidents of Armenia and Georgia, arrived in Moscow as early as the evening of 7 October, Azerbaijani leader Geydar Aliyev's arrival was uncertain until late in the night of 7 October. Throughout that day, Aliyev consulted with his advisers and members of the Council of Ministers on the draft proposed by the Russian side. Your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent learned that the Azerbaijani delegation presented for discussion a document whose content differed in some respects from the Russian draft.

At 12:00 [Moscow time], the meeting of the four presidents began in the Kremlin, but despite expectations no joint communique was adopted and the heads of state limited themselves to discussing political, military, and economic matters. No final document was signed, nor did a one-on-one meeting between the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan take place.

The only practical result of the summit was Eduard Shevardnadze's announcement that Georgia will join the CIS.

TURAN Views Results of Talks

NC0910174593 Baku TURAN in English 1150 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Baku, October 9 (TURAN)—In spite of the expectations, the fourpartial meeting of Boris Yeltsin and the Transcaucasian leaders finished on Friday in Moscow without a signed joint communique. As Moscow correspondent of TURAN found out, in spite of the persistence of Yeltsin, the document was not signed because of the firm position of Baku, which qualified the demands of Moscow to be too revolutionary. As reported, Russia offered its project of the communique, consisting of the following articles: the return of the Russian troops to Azerbaijan within the framework of the treaty on collective security of the CIS, and shaping them into the status of a peacemakers creation of the Russian military bases at the territory of the Republic location of the Russian troops at the border of Azerbaijan with Iran the withdrawal of the blockade of energetic and transport communications between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Together with this, the document did not contain guarantees of liberation of the seized Azeri territories. Local diplomatic experts said, that the refusal of Baku was quite soft.

The official Baku considers, that the withdrawal of the blockade is unseparable from the liberation of the seized Azeri territories.

I am not sure that such a hurry meeting was necessary. I did not have a chance to get ready for it. I am getting ready for the inauguration right now, G. Aliyev told journalists at the Vnukovo airport.

To the latest reports from Moscow, Georgia agreed to the above mentioned terms of Moscow. Eduard Shevardnadze handed B. Yeltsin the statement on the agreement to join the CIS.

As the Moscow correspondent of TURAN reported today, B. Yeltsin issued a decree on imparting a special status to the contingent of the Russian troops in Georgia. According to this decree, the Russian troops will be placed at the Georgian-Turkish border, as well as at the Armenian-Turkish and the Armenian-Iranian border.

Patsatsia Outlines Stance at CIS Meeting on Economic Union

AU0810162393 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 29 Sep 93 p 3

[Article by Armaz Saneblidze, SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA special correspondent, including interview with Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia given to accredited Georgian journalists in Moscow on 24 September: "As Observers"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] **As soon as the meeting [of heads of state and government of CIS states] ended, we asked Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Otar Patsatsia to give an interview in the President Hotel [in Moscow] to accredited journalists from Georgia.**

In giving a general assessment of the sessions held in Moscow, the prime minister said:

Proceeding from existing economic realities, we would like to join the CIS Economic Council [sabcho] as an associate member. However, there are conditions in this union that are not beneficial to us at the moment. This is my personal view and also that of the members of the delegation. The question is so multifaceted and complex that it requires serious thought and in-depth study. It will be necessary to hold consultations with colleagues, the appropriate parliamentary commissions, and scholars. I believe that we will take the problems raised here back to Georgia, discuss them, draw concrete conclusions, and work out a common position, and, at future meetings, we will appear fully prepared and finally achieve our aim.

(On his return to Tbilisi, Otar Patsatsia did indeed convene a session of the Cabinet of Ministers and informed it of the results of the Moscow meeting and presented information for discussion.—A.S.)

[Unidentified correspondent] **What can you say about their setting membership of the CIS as a precondition for joining the economic union?**

[Patsatsia] You are right. They have indeed set this condition. However, in this respect, there needs to be final clarification of Articles 30 and 34 of the Charter of the union. Ukraine and Turkmenistan have demanded the same thing. This has not yet been decided. Our basic aim is to establish economic ties under mutually advantageous conditions with both Russia and other countries and, if we achieve this, we can consider our mission to have been a success. However, I repeat that this still requires a lot of work.

[Unidentified correspondent] **Are you pleased with the delegation's work?**

[Patsatsia] One can say that I am basically pleased. We have already ascertained what needs to be done. This means a lot. We have gotten over the initial stage. Now we need to continue with the creative work in the way that I have already told you.

[Unidentified correspondent] **You made a statement at the closed session that was held in the Kremlin in which the heads of the CIS member states participated. What did you speak about?**

[Patsatsia] First and foremost, about that question that was on the agenda: economic union, our position regarding associate membership. We made some serious points.

Before I tell you about them, I would like to emphasize one main fact: Economic union was not formed after this one meeting and this one decision. It is a fairly lengthy, stage-by-stage—I emphasize stage-by-stage— complex, and quite difficult process.

Proceeding from this, I view the draft treaty on economic union (that was presented for approval) as a basis for developing future work in this direction and not as a final document. Moreover, this is what I said at the beginning of my speech.

I drew the attention of the meeting's participants to the fact that, at this stage, different countries could support the processes of integration in different ways, something that is conditioned by their economic situation, traditions, and the mood of social forces. However, I also pointed out that all the participating countries were striving jointly to develop economic relations and the processes of integration.

The third point made by our delegation was that all the countries were at present unable to adopt unifying models of development and to coordinate their economic policy with others by means of harmonizing the work of institutions, although these countries were well aware of the existence of common economic interests and the need to unite markets and were aiming to create the necessary economic fund in order to deepen the processes of integration.

Proceeding from this, we consider the formation of a single economic space as a process in which different states find themselves at different stages according to their degree of readiness.

This was our fourth point.

The fifth point. Certain countries believe that it is essential to formalize the economic union and only then give it real economic substance.

Along with participation in the creation of mechanisms of economic union, it is also possible, proceeding from the real economic situation, to formalize this or that clause in the treaty that will determine the quality of the economic integration of the sides.

Then we agreed on the basic aim of the economic union: the free transfer of goods, services, capital, and the work force. I also said that we were aware that, in order to acquire the advantages deriving from participation in the union and integration, we would have to concede a part of our sovereignty.

However, it was not clear from the draft treaty on economic union to what extent this concession was envisaged. Therefore, I stated that Georgia was not ready today to shoulder the full burden of the obligations stipulated in this treaty.

Finally, I said on behalf of our delegation that, following the creation of the economic union, in accordance with Article 30 of the draft treaty, Georgia would be prepared to hold talks on the conditions for Georgia's acceptance as an associate member. [passage omitted]

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 9 Oct

LD0910123993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1131 GMT 9 Oct 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 9 TASS—Russian newspapers reaching the ITAR-TASS news agency continue to highlight the situation in Moscow following the recent sanguinary events.

MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS carries recollections by an eyewitness to the fighting near the parliament building and a report from the tent town on the Khodynka field—the site of the deployment of three divisions that were brought to the capital last week.

MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA features a series of photographs taken inside the parliament building, and SELSKAYA ZHIZN (Rural Life) runs an article about the ceremony to pay last respects to police who died on those tragic days.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI devotes a whole page to articles about the work of media people on October 3 and 4. The newspaper quotes Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko as saying during a meeting with the staff of Russian Television: "Your news reports are a moral feat".

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, under the headline "The October Results of September Developments, or it is Time to Tell the Truth" carries a survey article by Vladimir Guliyev. "It was the Congress and the Supreme Soviet (parliament) that staged a coup and the usurpation of power and nearly completed them in March 1993: There was a shortfall of few votes to impeach the president with the blessing of the Constitutional Court," Guliyev maintains.

His opinion is that if the Constitution articles, which undermine or which allow the foundations of the constitutional system to be undermined, are suspended, this is the only thing which the one who swore on the fundamental law and in the name of this law has the right to and should do.

MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS frontpages an item about Albert Makashov. Detailing a political portrait of the parliament's deputy minister of defence, the newspaper analyses Makashov's activities since the middle of 1991 when he ran for Russia's Presidency and "polled a negligibly small number of votes".

"Again and again Colonel-General Makashov persistently tried to play the main role in the Russian political theatre. No wonder that the reds, black- and brown-shirters of every stripe immediately got together under his colours. Makashov was made a member of the leading bodies, it seems, of all 'patriotic' and communist organisations without exception at once", the newspaper pointed out.

The article in MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS ends with the expression of the hope that putting Makashov into Lefortovo Prison as one of the leaders of the bloody revolt "will bring to an end both the military and political career of this perpetual candidate for Russian dictator".

NOVIY VZLYAD (Novel View), the weekly supplement to MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, carries an article by its chief political consultant Valeria Novodvorskaya under the headline "The Soviet Power Is Banned".

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI frontpages an interview with Veniamin Yakovlev, chairman of Russia's Supreme Court of arbitration, about the elaboration of a civil code which was discussed at a meeting of the Russian Government Presidium on October 8.

A stage-by-stage adoption of the document is "the most important and urgent task now". This will be one of vivid manifestations of the creative activities which our country greatly needs now, Yakovlev said.

The problem of investments is now the key issue concerning the revitalisation of the Russian economy, Vice-Premier Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for the Management of Property, points out in an article in ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI. His opinion is that this problem can be resolved only "on a fundamentally new basis—with the aid of private investors".

SELSKAYA ZHIZN carries an interview with Dr. of science (medicine) Vitaliy Yefremenko, director of the Stavropol Plague Research Institute. The scientist's view is that cholera could not fail to manifest itself in Russia because conditions are coming about for the incidence of this and other no less terrible diseases.

The most unstable situation from the epidemiological point of view has developed in southern Russia now, particularly in the north Caucasus region. Nevertheless, Yefremenko believes that "however dangerous the diseases are, we are by no means defenceless in the face of them".

Press Review for 12 Oct

LD1210110693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1019 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, October 12 (TASS)—The October 3-4 tragic events in Moscow and the political situation in the Russian capital and regions remain in the spotlight of the local press. The newspapers feature pronouncements by political figures, public leaders and prominent journalists devoted to the recent abortive coup de force and interviews with them, carry analytical materials, forecasting the future development of the domestic political situation.

"I, being as I am head of the Russian Government, was by duty-bound to be in the very heart of the events and, naturally enough, I was in their very midst all the time.

I am aware of all the actions taken by Yerin, Grachev and all the rest Every necessary measure was taken," Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin told the newspaper "ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI". His interview is published in today's issue of the daily. "This is the first time that such things have happened here. We looked forward to extreme situations, too. Nevertheless, pitfalls are absolutely inevitable in such cases. The most we could do was to reduce them to the minimum. We did our best to cope with this task," he added. The premier believes another problem is emerging today: What must be done next? "The government has a clear-cut programme," Chernomyrdin said. "It has been published. Today, when nobody is interfering with its implementation, we can really hope to stabilise the situation. The rates of the production slump began to decrease even before the putsch. They were much lower in the third quarter of this year than in the first three months. They will slow down even more in the future". The premier noted that 1994 would be a "decisive" year, but the life of the people would remain difficult, though "easier than before". At the same time, he said that prices for bread would be set free and housing rent would be increased.

"Today, during the time of national grief, our society has no more important task than to grasp the essence of the October 3-4 tragedy," the newspaper "NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA" writes. "A fatally dangerous breach has been made in the immature Russian democracy and urgent measures must be taken in order not to sink to the bottom. We are not referring only to the future of our freedom—the very existence of Russia is at stake, because it can survive and develop only as a democratic state."

Viktor Kuvaldin, the author of this article, entitled "The Dead House as a Symbol of One More Fiasco of the Russian Political Elite", claims that the only way to save Russia today is to hold free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections, to form a legitimate and efficient government, which would enjoy the respect and trust of all the Russian people. "Those who oppose the right of the people to express their will, who is trying to turn the elections into a farce, are committing a grave sin. If there are still people who doubt it, they should cast a more attentive glance at the smashed window-panes of the dead house (Russian parliament building—ITAR-TASS), which but recently looked so proud and self-confident," the article points out.

"We did not want to wage war." Chairman of the Press Service of the Afghan War Veterans Union Valeriy Kazakov says in an interview published today by the newspaper "MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS". "We turned out into the streets on October 3 with the only purpose of preventing bloodshed," he added. Kazakov says that the Afghan war veterans had taken part in the assault on parliament house only after its defenders had thrown Molotov cocktails at the troops posted around it.

Touching on the reorganisation of local governing bodies, Russian Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray, who is rumoured to be planning to resign from his post, told "MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS": "We must not be overhasty. I stand for a phased reformation of the local representative bodies." In Shakhray's opinion, the executive powers vested in the local councils should be handed over to the heads of local administrations. A commission should be set up after that to draw up without any haste a model of the future representative bodies in the provinces. "Elections could be held next spring," Shakhray believes. "The elections could be put off if somebody came out against them. It is wrong to resort to abrupt steps."

"I addressed a telegram to Boris Yeltsin on Monday, this dark day for Russia, saying that I was ready, as in August 1991, to stand next to him on a tank turret," head of the Georgian state Eduard Shevardnadze said in an interview published by the newspaper "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA" today. Describing the current situation, Shevardnadze said, in particular, that "difficult days, difficult times" had arrived. "Today, if Russia understands us, we are ready for big changes," he stressed. "We can, indeed, create ideal inter-state relations, because the dark forces have already been ousted."

"They planned to stay there for good and for long", the newspaper "MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS" publishes under this title some facsimile documents pertaining to the putsch in Moscow. They include parts of a plan to defend the Russian parliament building, found in the office of "Defence Minister" Achalov, lists of militants discovered in the same office, blanks for passes and temporary licences for possessing and carrying automatic weapons.

The newspapers report on the beginning of President Boris Yeltsin's official visit to Japan. In connection with this, the "NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA" publishes an article by Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the magazine "PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA" (FAR EASTERN PROBLEMS) Boris Slavinsky dealing with new documents from the archives of the Russian Foreign Ministry, showing that the Soviet Union had drawn up a draft peace treaty with Japan back in 1951.

President Yeltsin Departs on Visit to Japan

LD1110104293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 0900 GMT on 11 October carries a one-minute Vladimir Belyayev video report in its regular "Novosti" newscast on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's departure from Moscow's Vnukovo Airport for Japan.

The accompanying footage shows a line of officials bidding farewell to Yeltsin in the departures hall. Yeltsin is seen shaking hands with Gaydar, Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, Defense Minister Army General Grachev, Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin, and then with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. Belyayev points out that Kozyrev is accompanying Yeltsin to Tokyo. Finally Yeltsin shakes hands with presidential adviser Andranik Migranyan. Other officials in the line are not identified. Neither Grachev nor Yerin are in uniform. Chernomyrdin is not seen in any of these shots.

Later, reporters are seen crowding round Yeltsin in the departure hall as he answers their questions. The final shot is of Yeltsin and his wife, Naina, waving goodbye from the top of the steps leading to the presidential aircraft.

Delegation Named

LD1110044593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0425 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 11 Oct—Russian President Boris Yeltsin left for an official visit to Japan today.

This is the first official visit by the Russian president to this country. It is designed to open a new page in relations between Russia and Japan.

The delegation includes Yegor Gaydar, the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Andrey Kozyrev, the country's minister of foreign affairs; Viktor Ilyushin, the presidential senior aide; Oleg Davydov, the minister of foreign economic relations: and Lyudvig Chizhov, Russia's ambassador to Japan. [passage omitted]

Agenda of Yeltsin's Upcoming Japan Visit Outlined

LD1010094093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2150 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, 10 Oct (Itar-Tass)—The first official visit by the president of the Russian Federation to Japan begins on Monday 11 October. A distinctive feature of the visit is its exclusively working and extremely intensive nature.

It is proposed that around 15 various agreements and documents will be signed in Tokyo outlining the development of bilateral ties and cooperation in most various spheres and fields. The Tokyo Declaration on Russian-Japanese Relations—the first political declaration of this kind—and the Declaration on Prospects for Trade and Economic, and Scientific and Technical Relations between the Russian Federation and Japan will be the most important documents.

It is also planned to sign agreements on cooperation in the sphere of research into and the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, on preventing incidents at sea beyond the limits of territorial waters and in the air, and on rescue at sea, and memorandums on inter-governmental consultations, broadening cooperation in the sphere of culture, and on freedom of travel for citizens on the territory of the two countries.

The sides will adopt a number of joint statements—on the non-proliferation of mass destruction weapons and their means of delivery, and the development of transparency in conventional armaments, on preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons on the Korean Peninsula, and on Cambodia, and will sign letters of exchange on the inauguration of consulates general of Russia in Niigata, and of Japan in Khabarovsk, and on increasing by 25 the quota of Russian and Japanese journalists accordingly in Tokyo and Moscow (the overall number for each of the sides will amount to 759). It is also proposed to solve the question of setting up a liaison committee for the implementation in the Russian Federation of disarmament measures, including the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The themes for the talks include the conclusion of a peace treaty between the countries. Nikolay Solovyev, director of the Foreign ministry's Asian-Pacific Region Department, told a briefing on the threshold of the visit that the discussion of this problem will take account of all the documents and decisions that have been adopted "throughout the history of our relations with Japan," as well as the "present situation in bilateral links." As for the territorial problem, "the problem does exist and it will continue to be discussed, but only a decision that suits both sides should be adopted."

The Tokyo YOMIURI on the eve of the visit published an interview with Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Hiroshi Fukuda, who expressed the view that the top-level talks "will make it possible to normalize relations between the two countries, which have of late been in a somewhat frozen state, and to ensure the possibility of an active dialogue between our states."

Further on Visit Details

LD1010150893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1135 GMT 10 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 10 October—President Boris Yeltsin arrives in Tokyo on an official visit during the evening of 11 October. The delegation includes Yegor Gaydar, the first deputy chairman of the Council of

Ministers, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, Viktor Ilyushin, first assistant to the president, Foreign Economic Relations Minister Oleg Davydov, and Russia's Ambassador to Japan Ludvig Chizhov.

The Russian president's official visit to Japan will begin on the morning of 12 October with a meeting in the Akasaka Palace with Emperor Akihito of Japan and Empress Michiko.

Within the framework of the schedule, three rounds of talks are planned with Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa. One round of talks will be with the delegations in an extended form.

Yeltsin will also meet representatives of four leading organizations in Japan: The Japanese Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren), the Japanese Federation of Employers Association (Nikkeiren), the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Trade and the Japanese Association of Corporate Executives (Keizai Doyukai). [passage omitted]

A joint news conference will be held between President Boris Yeltsin and Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa at the end of the visit.

The Russian president will fly back to Moscow during the evening of 13 October after the official farewell ceremony given by the Emperor and Empress.

Yeltsin Meets With Journalists at Airport

LD1110054593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0449 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic corresopndent Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Oct—Russian President Boris Yeltsin left for Japan this morning. Prior to departing from Vnukovo airport, he told journalists that he hoped very much that the Japanese side would not raise the issue of the Kuril islands.

Speaking about the situation in Moscow, Boris Yeltsin noted that the it fully under control. The visit to Japan will last only a day and a half. "Those who kicked up the row, so to speak, are securely locked up," the president noted.

"The most important task is that we have been unable to develop a serious cooperation with Japan, particularly in the economic sphere, Boris Yeltsin stressed. This visit will help develop such cooperation in all spheres, and particularly in the economic sphere, the Russian president said. All these issues will be discussed with his majesty the emperor, the prime minister, and other Japanese leaders, Boris Yeltsin said.

Yeltsin Arrives in Tokyo To Begin Visit

Welcomed at Akasaka Palace

LD1210041393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0118 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS Special correspondent]

[Excerpt] Tokyo, 12 Oct—The ceremonial welcome for Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who arrived on 11 October to pay an official visit to Japan, took place today at Tokyo's Akasaka Palace, which is traditionally used as the residence of senior foreign guests. In accordance with protocol, the emperor and empress of Japan arrived at the palace to welcome the Russian leader.

After an exchange of greetings, B.N. Yeltsin and N.I. Yeltsina and Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko took their places on the terrace of the residence, which was built in 1909 in the style of Versailles, Britain's Buckingham Palace, and the Spanish Alhambra castle. The national anthems of both countries were played. The emperor introduced members of his family and Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa.

The Russian president inspected a guard of honor. Then, B.N. Yeltsin and Emperor Akihito were driven in the same car, escorted by a cortege of cars, to the Imperial Palace used for state ceremonies and receptions of high foreign guests. The welcoming ceremony for Boris Yeltsin continued here. This is his first visit to Tokyo in the history of relations between the new Russia and Japan.

A plenary sitting of the Russo-Japanese summit meeting began after a conversation between the Russian leader and the Imperial couple. [passage omitted]

Holds Talks With Emperor Akihito

LD1210045993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0418 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, 12 Oct—Russia and Japan, as two major powers, should jointly facilitate the development of the entire world, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who is in Tokyo on an official visit, said today during a conversation with Japanese Emperor Akihito.

The head of the Russian state also expressed the hope that now, when Russia had overcome the legacy of the communist past, relations between the two countries would improve. The Japanese monarch expressed satisfaction with the fact that Russo-Japanese ties would develop on the basis of lawfulness and justice.

Touching upon the issue of Japanese prisoners of war interned by the former USSR after the Second World War, Russian President Boris Yeltsin expressed condolences to the Japanese citizens who had died in Russia

[as received]. Emperor Akihito said in reply that he and the entire world were deeply touched by the remarks of the Russian president.

Apologizes for Treatment of Japanese POWs

LD1210063393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0610 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo October 12 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of Russia on Tuesday offered official apologies to the Japanese people for "the inhuman treatment of Japanese prisoners of war" who had been interned on the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 and subsequent years.

"During talks with his majesty emperor of Japan and the prime minister, I made an apology on behalf of the president and government, and on behalf of Russia," he said when addressing the leaders of Japan's economic organisations.

"I bow my head before you, too, and apologize," President Yeltsin said.

Delegations Hold Preliminary Meeting in Tokyo

LD1210051393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0440 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Excerpts] The time in Moscow is 0739 and you are listening to the Mayak Panorama. As you know, Russian President Boris Yeltsin is paying an official visit to Japan. With the details, on the line from Tokyo is Mayak commentator Yuliy Semenov. Go ahead.

[Semenov] [passage omitted] A preliminary meeting has been held between the full-strength delegations. The point of the meeting was, as always, to iron out any existing difficulties in issues, and to define the course along which the talks will proceed, and to ensure that they proceed smoothly. There are three main pending issues at the talks: the South Kuriles, the fate of 600,000—some say 640,000—Japanese prisoners-of-war following the Second World War in the USSR and Russia, and the recent bloodshed in Moscow.

There is no official information as yet on the specific content of the preliminary meeting between the delegations, but we can most probably expect that Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa will set out his country's stance regarding the northern territories [the Kuriles]. We know that the Russian president hinted that he would prefer him not to, but both chambers of the Japanese parliament passed a resolution obliging the government to use the talks to confirm its interest in concluding a peace treaty and as part of it resolving the South Kurils issue. At the same time, the Japanese are not of course anticipating any serious progress on this issue right now. Japan will most likely express regret over the bloodshed in Moscow, but at the same time, will voice support for the reform policies in Russia.

The Russian president is expected to voice to a certain extent regret and sympathy to former POWs and their families in connection with their fate.

As I left to go to the telephone, a meeting between Yeltsin and business representatives was taking place. Speeches from both sides are expected and perhaps even a debate, but I plan to report on that during the daytime Panorama on Mayak at about 1330 GMT.

Yeltsin, Hosokawa Satisfied With Talks

LD1210064593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0606 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, 12 Oct—"Everything's going fine and I have only positive impressions from my talks with the Japanese leadership," Russian President Boris Yeltsin said today in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS following his meeting with the leadership of Japanese economic organisations.

Although the Russian-Japanese talks are only half way through and a whole range of bilateral issues have to be discussed prior to signing the 17 joint documents, Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa also gave journalists a positive assessment of the progress of the political talks.

Delegations' Talks 'Cordial'

LD1210104893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0722 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Tokyo October 12 ITAR-TASS—Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa expressed today full support for the reform in Russia, implemented by Boris Yeltsin, and tremendous interest in a further development of Japanese-Russian relations. He took part in the first plenary meeting of the two countries' delegations. The talks were held in a cordial and easy atmosphere, Sadaaki Numata, press secretary of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing for foreign journalists.

According to Sadaaki Numata, the territorial problem was not discussed at the first meeting. It is quite probable, however, that it will be discussed later. On behalf of Russia, the first round of talks was attended by Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Oleg Davydov. The japanese side was represented by Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tsutomu Hata, Minister of Finance Hirohisa Fujii, Minister of Foreign Trade and Industry Hiroshi Kumagai and Secretary-General of the Cabinet of Ministers Masayoshi Takemura.

Yeltsin's statement, in which he, on behalf of the Russian Government and people, offered apologies for the inhumane treatment of Japanese prisoners of war, who were kept on the territory of the former Soviet Union after the second world war, was one of the highlights of

the first meetings of the Russian-Japanese summit. Morihiro Hosokawa praised this initiative of the Russian president. In his opinion, the developments during the years of the Stalinist totalitarian regime "left deep scars on bilateral relations".

The head of the Japanese cabinet welcomed the fact that the recent crisis in Moscow was settled comparatively quickly, offered his condolences over the loss of life and expressed regret over the fact that force had to be used. He said Tokyo was assessing positively the suggestion of President Yeltsin that western observers should be sent to Russia to watch the holding of elections to the State Duma next December, and added that Japan was ready to cooperate with Russia in that sphere.

Both leaders pointed to an extensive potential for a further development of bilateral economic cooperation on the basis of common democratic values and approaches, and expressed confidence that the visit of the Russian president would become a turning point opening up a new epoch of partnership in Russian-Japanese relations on the threshold of the 21st century.

The Japanese prime minister pointed out during the talks that trade and economic relations between the two countries had been in a state of stagnation of late, especially Japanese exports to Russia, and said that the implementation of economic projects, specifically the transSiberian project in the sphere of communication and the development of oil and gas fields on the Sakhalin Shelf, would help set the process in motion.

In his turn, President Yeltsin suggested that the Sakhalin project should be implemented and a possibility of the export of Russian coal and timber to Japan should be discussed.

Yeltsin Meets With Japanese Business Leaders

LD1210063893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0621 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo October 12 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation has offered to Japanese business community a number of specific projects for cooperation with Russia.

Speaking here on Tuesday at a luncheon given in his honour on behalf of Japan's leading economic organisations, the Russian president mentioned such areas as the establishment of a transcontinental optical-fibre communications line, the development of infrastructure, primarily port one, the creation of safety systems to enhance the reliability of nuclear power stations operating on plutonium.

Further on Meeting

LD1210092793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0825 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Excerpt] Tokyo, 12 Oct—President Boris Yeltsin today formulated five [as received] specific areas for mutually beneficial economic cooperation between Russia and Japan at a meeting in Tokyo with the leaders of organizations of local business circles.

Russia, he said, is prepared to offer Japanese firms the following specific projects:

—To create a transcontinental fiber-optic communications line;

—To develop infrastructure, especially ports and particularly in eastern Russia;

—To create safety systems to enhance the reliability of plutonium nuclear power stations;

—Projects in the field of space, the development of new means of transport, laser technologies, etc.

Observing that the collapse of the communist-fascist ideology in Russia is of particular importance to Russian-Japanese relations, Boris Yeltsin stressed that the principal foundation for confrontation between the two countries has now been removed, not only in politics, but also in the economic field.

"Russia is resolutely moving toward the market," he said. "The excessively centralized totalitarian-command system in the economy is being dismantled rapidly. Numerous obstacles in the way of active economic ties between us are falling to the ground." Boris Yeltsin expressed satisfaction with the emerging signs that bilateral trade and economic ties are gradually coming out of the phase of crisis. In 1993, the volume of Russian-Japanese commodity circulation began to increase. In this connection Boris Yeltsin noted expanding cooperation between the two countries in the fuel and energy complex industries. He said that Mitsui and Mitsubishi companies are stepping up their activities in developing the Sakhalin oil and gas project, and petroleum processing associations in Yaroslavl and Khabarovsk are being reconstructed with Japanese participation. The Export-Import Bank of Japan is providing loans to the Russian Gazprom [gas industry association]. At the same time, he noted that many of the power engineering projects already agreed are still not being carried out because of hesitations on the part of Japanese partners.

According to the Russian leader, prospects are also good in the joint development of communications. The president also recommended that Japanese businessmen play a more active part in Russia's program for conversion of its defense industry.

Boris Yeltsin drew particular attention to the active exchange going on between Russian regions in the Far

East and Siberia and Japanese prefectures describing them as "the sound foundation for the renewal of relations between our countries under the new conditions." According to Boris Yeltsin, "the intellectual support given by Japan" is also of great significance for Russia's market reforms. He welcomed the establishment of an international center for small and medium-sized enterprises in Vladivostok. "Let contacts at the level of small and medium-sized businesses pave the way for impressive projects to open up Siberia and the Far East and the waters of the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk." [passage omitted]

Moscow-Tokyo Communication Links Restored After Fire

LD1210094493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0854 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alexandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—Less than one and a half days were needed to restore the main communication facilities, temporarily put out of action by a natural calamity which, as earlier reported by ITAR-TASS, caused a fire on October 10 at the main radio-relaying station near the village of Kochenevo, Novosibirsk Region. It damaged the power supply system, interrupting the operation of the Moscow-Khabarovsk-Vladivostok trunk radio-relaying line.

ITAR-TASS has learned today from Russian Deputy Minister for Communications Eduard Ostrovskiy that the fire had completely destroyed the technical facilities building, housing the reception and transmission facilities, thereby putting out of action 6,636 long-distance trunk telephone channels, 900 regional channels, and disrupting the transmission of TV programmes from St. Petersburg and the Novosibirsk TV centres to several regional TV relaying stations.

In spite of the substantial damage caused by the fire, preliminarily assessed at almost 40 million roubles, local communication workers have promptly got down to work without waiting for assistance from the centre. 4,728 trunk communication channels (more than 70 per cent of the damaged lines) were restored by the early morning of October 12, and the transmission of the first and second TV programmes was resumed. The local television has gone on the air, too. Ostrovskiy believes that the reception and relaying of St. Petersburg TV programmes will be resumed within the next three or five days, and all the trunk lines and channels of the inter-zonal network will also go into operation within this period.

The deputy minister noted that the accident did not affect communication contacts between Moscow and Tokyo.

Japanese TV Interviews Deputy Prime Minister Gaydar

OW1010051593 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 0004 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Interview with First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar by NHK Moscow Bureau chief Kazuo Kobayashi; a special feature from the "Toron" program moderated by NHK commentator Yasuhiro Kamishina: "Questioning Japan's Diplomacy With Russia"; place and date not given—recorded; Kobayashi and Gaydar speak in Russian; Kobayashi's questions subtitled in Japanese and Gaydar's answers simultaneously translated into Japanese by Yuki Yoshioka—recorded]

[Text] [Kamishina] We have interviewed Russia's First Deputy Prime Minister Gaydar, a close aide to President Yeltsin, on how Russia sees the president's forthcoming visit to Japan. Now, please listen to this interview. [video shows Gaydar and Kobayashi seated face to face across a desk in an office]

[Kobayashi] Is it not possible that President Yeltsin's visit to Japan will be postponed once more?

[Gaydar] No, it is not possible. As far as I know, the president will leave for Japan as scheduled.

[Kobayashi] Are there not any apprehensions about the fact the president will be away from Moscow?

[Gaydar] No. If it had been decided it was dangerous for the president not to be in Moscow at this time, it would have been inconvenient diplomatically and politically and we would have asked Japan to agree to postpone the visit.

[Kobayashi] When the armed conflicts took place, where were you and what were you doing?

[Gaydar] When the confrontation took place around the White House, I was in my office. Yes, that's right. I was here in this room. And I was naturally busy contacting ministers, the president and the prime minister.

And when I felt it necessary, judging from the situation—that is, when Ostankino Television failed to air programs as a result of the fighting—I appealed to Muscovites at the Russian Television station. I told them we must try to defend Russia's democracy and liberty.

[Kobayashi] As a result, there were many victims. Was there no other measure that could have been taken to avoid such a situation?

[Gaydar] All of us regret the fact there have been victims, and we lament their deaths. When sacrifices are made, we should consider what measures could have been taken to prevent them.

We believe what we did was right and we spent much time in persuading the military not to interfere with or get involved in the state's domestic affairs under any circumstances. We called on the military not to get

involved in fighting within Russia's territory. We felt it was correct so to do, and still think that this is basically correct.

However, we were then directly confronted by rioters, armed groups that were well-armed, well-controlled and able to take actions according to well-laid plans. As a result, there arose an extremely serious problem, and we had to consider how to deal with these armed groups. Our police have never been prepared for battles. The military is ready for battles. However, they were not ready to fight battles at home. To this extent we were faced with an real crisis. Irresponsible people, the fascists, were trying to put Russia under their control. Moreover, they also attempted to put Russia's nuclear arms under their control. If it had happened, it would have imposed a serious danger to the whole world. Therefore, we had no other choice but to consider all the measures that could be taken to prevent such a situation.

[Kobayashi] Are you not worried that, as a result of recent events, the president's political influence has become weakened?

[Gaydar] No. I feel that as a result of this bitter experience, the president has further consolidated his authority, his power in Russia.

[Kobayashi] You are in charge of economic affairs, what do you expect from the president's visit to Japan?

[Gaydar] For my part, I do not think the president's forthcoming visit to Japan will result in the settling any major economic issues. I hope that the bilateral dialogue on economic cooperation that has been conducted so far will be expanded further.

[Kobayashi] Do you think that as a result of the president's planned visit to Japan, economic cooperation, including investment by Japanese companies in Russia, will be promoted?

[Gaydar] Let me put it this way: What is important is that the peoples as well as governments of our two nations understand each other well. Our two nations share a past history filled with distresses. And there are various factors that hamper us in working together to promote bilateral programs in political and economic fields.

In this connection, I hope that the visit to Japan will be a step toward attaining mutual understanding between our two nations. Only when such mutual understanding is achieved, can the basis for strengthening our economic relations be established. Russia, therefore, will not be bringing up any new major issues to discuss with our partner, Japan. We believe that Russia's domestic stability, its economic stability above all, depends on Russia itself. That is the reason why we do not plan to bring up any new large-scale issues this time.

What we would like to do on the visit is promote the existing dialogue. For example, there is the issue of developing Sakhalin's continental shelves. This has become a high-level project, and one in which Japanese companies are keen to become involved. The issue of building cooperative relations between Russia's Far East and Japan will probably be brought up for discussion. Anyway, as far as I am concerned, I feel success can be achieved only when our two nations come to share the same interests.

[Kobayashi] Several high-ranking Russian officials have stated that the president's visit to Japan is coming about because of Japan's concessions on the territorial issue. What is your view?

[Gaydar] The president's visit to Japan was not decided today. It was agreed on a long time ago. Despite the fact that, politically speaking, Russia is now in a very serious situation, we have not changed the schedule for the president's visit to Japan.

You mentioned that many people have made differing remarks on the issue. However, in deciding a nation's diplomatic policy, it is not a good idea to have divided opinions at home. Moreover, as far as Russia is concerned, we have an organ charged with working out and deciding on foreign policy. That is, we have the Foreign Ministry. Therefore, if you have any questions about diplomatic issues, please ask the Foreign Ministry or the foreign minister, who will be accompanying the president on his visit to Japan.

Yeltsin Proposes Japanese Observers to Dec Elections

LD0910121893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1058 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Excerpt] Tokyo, 9 Oct—A message from Russian President Boris Yeltsin was handed over today through the Russian Embassy in Tokyo to Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa. In it Boris Yeltsin expresses gratitude to the Japanese Government for the support given by it to the president's administration after the suppression of the recent armed mutiny in Moscow. The message also proposes that Tokyo send Japanese experts to Russia to observe the forthcoming elections to the country's new parliament in December. [passage omitted]

Foreign States' Support During Crisis Noted

PM0810151393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 3

[Pavel Shinkarenko article: "The World Could Have Found Itself on the Brink of Nuclear Confrontation If the Rebels Had Won"]

[Text] For four days, jumping at the nearby explosions and bursts of automatic fire, choking in the smoke from the barricades of logs and automobile tires which were burning in the square, staffers of the Russian Foreign

Ministry continued their everyday, "routine" work. Diplomats and technical personnel worked calmly and smoothly, as if life were going on in the same peaceful and measured way outside the walls of the "skyscraper."

Nervous animation could only be perceived at the entrance to the building, where smart limousines bearing little flags of foreign countries rolled up from time to time. U.S., British, German, Japanese flags... The foreign ambassadors appeared on Smolenskaya Square in order to hear the official view of events in Moscow or express their government's reaction to them. In the absence of the head of the Foreign Ministry, explanations were given by Deputy Ministers Anatoliy Adamishin, Boris Kolokolov, and Georgiy Kunadze. Andrey Kozyrev returned from New York Monday after participating in the work of the UN General Assembly, and he picked up the telephone straight away. His diplomatic colleagues—U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, FRG Minister Klaus Kinkel—were at the other end of the line...

What words did the foreign official representatives hear?

"The Foreign Ministry told ambassadors that the armed mutiny was planned and started by supporters of the former Supreme Soviet, national-patriots, and procommunist and profascist elements," Grigoriy Karasin, director of the Information and Press Department, said. "And the main role in organizing this action was played by Khasbulatov and Rutskoy, who, having built up forces under cover of talks, directly called on their supporters to storm the city hall and the television center and named the Moscow Kremlin, the residence of the Russian president, as the main target. Alongside them were not so much former deputies as adventurists from among the military, of the Achalov and Makashov type. The calls of the 'leaders,' and most importantly, the actions of the gunmen, brought in their wake unprecedented loss of life. That is the most lamentable thing about all that happened in Moscow."

Grigoriy Borisovich stresses that the Foreign Ministry leaders asked their foreign partners to be understanding about what was happening. "This is important," he noted, "if you bear in mind that the rebels' aim was to return our country—a nuclear superpower—to the distant past, not even to a Brezhnev model, but a Stalinist one, to a situation in which the world could again find itself on the brink of nuclear confrontation."

This understanding, more, this extensive support for the actions of the president and the government voiced even after the signing of the edict on stage-by-stage constitutional reform were reaffirmed with new force during those days. Statesmen and politicians of the highest rank—presidents, prime ministers, and foreign ministers—unequivocally condemned the disorder and acts of armed violence carried out by the political adventurists pursuing power. The use of force aimed at restoring order in the capital was also supported. "Carrying out the functions of head of state bestowed on him, the Russian president was obliged to establish law and order in the capital." That opinion, for example, was expressed by U.S. Ambassador in Moscow Thomas Pickering. "Yeltsin did all that was necessary in the very complex situation that arose in the Russian capital as a result of the armed clashes provoked by the conservative forces of Rutskoy and Khasbulatov," the diplomat said.

Judging by subsequent events, the assurances of support expressed in foreign capitals were turned into concrete actions the next day. Thus the EC Commission adopted a decision to allocate urgent medical aid to Moscow to the tune of around 300,000 ECU, and the International Red Cross decided to allocate 1.5 tonnes of medicines. Urgent freight—a container of analgesics, disposable syringes, and blood transfusion equipment worth $30,000—has already been delivered from Tokyo. Similar consignments are on their way from France, Italy, Canada, Poland... In the near future, that is, in October-November, the Brazilian "Biobraz" company, which won an international tender announced by the Russian "Medsanbyttorg" a few months ago, will supply a large consignment of insulin—1 million ampoules worth $2.3 million. A contract was signed in September, but the Moscow events have speeded up its implementation.

On the other hand, leaders of the Western world are advocating giving material support to the Russian reforms. The U.S. President and the prime ministers of Great Britain, Canada, and Japan in particular have stated this. "Following the victory in Russia of forces supporting President Boris Yeltsin's course aimed at implementing political and economic reforms," Guenther Rexrodt, FRG federal minister of the economy, said a few days ago, "the FRG Government is examining the question of renewing guarantees for credits for the supply of goods to Russia." There are many examples like this.

We say thank you to our friends for their support, but for the Russians the main thing now is not to lose this trust, as we did in the past. Diplomats will help us to carry out this task.

Germany's Kohl Calls To Assure Yeltsin of Support

PM1110151393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, ITAR-TASS report under the "Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" rubric: "Telephone Conversation Between Boris Yeltsin and Helmut Kohl..."]

[Text] A telephone conversation took place between Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl yesterday at the German side's initiative.

The German chancellor expressed his support to the Russian president in connection with the successful actions to put down the putsch and restore law and

order. Helmut Kohl said that he was certain that democratic elections would be held in Russia at the appointed time and pointed out that Germany would be able to send observers to them.

Boris Yeltsin thanked Germany for its support during these difficult days and stated that the forthcoming Federal Assembly election will be free and democratic—a fact of which foreign observers will be able to satisfy themselves.

Yeltsin Thanks Foreign Leaders for Support

Romanian President Iliescu

AU1010154793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Today, the Russian Federation's ambassador to Bucharest, on behalf of President Boris Yeltsin, communicated to Romania's President Ion Iliescu the following statement:

I convey my gratitude to friendly states and international organizations and to all those who supported us during the difficult days that have been decisive for the fate of democracy. We will accelerate the pace of democratic changes and of economic reforms. I confirm that the free elections for the state duma of the Federal Assembly of Russia will take place at the previously announced date, in December this year and later presidential elections will follow. Equal possibilities and access to mass media are granted to all those politicians, political parties, and movements that have not soiled themselves by direct participation in the rebellion. I invite international observers to the elections . The foreign policy of the Russian state will remain unchanged. Just as it has been so far, our foreign policy will be directed toward fulfilling the national, state interests of Russia, through good neighborliness, consolidation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, and partnership with all democratic states, the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and with other international institutions.

Japanese Prime Minister Hosokawa

OW1110030793 Moscow Radio Moscow in Japanese 1100 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] A personal message from President Yeltsin was delivered to Japanese Prime Minister Hosokawa through the Russian Embassy in Tokyo on 10 October.

In his personal message, President Yeltsin states his gratitude to the Japanese Government for its expression of support for the presidential office in connection with the suppression of a riot that took place in Moscow the other day.

In the message, President Yeltsin also asks that Japan send experts to Russia to monitor elections for a new Russian parliament scheduled for this December.

Georgia's Chikvaidze Signs Accords, Views Summit

LD0810221893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 2050 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandre Chikvaidze and a representative of the Russian Federation signed three agreements today: a consular agreement, a customs agreement, and an agreement on an air link between Russia and Georgia. [Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1700 GMT on 8 October reports that the "representative of the Russian Federation" signing the agreements with Chikvaidze is Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev]

In an interview granted to a Georgian news agency correspondent, Chikvaidze said that this was the first sign before signing a comprehensive treaty between Russia and Georgia. During their private conversation, Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze agreed that they would sign this treaty in the near future. Chikvaidze said that the treaty would probably be signed after Yeltsin's visit to Japan. He added that an agreement on trade between Russia and Georgia was being prepared.

Talking about the Moscow summit, the head of the Georgian Foreign Ministry said that the meeting of the heads of the Transcaucasian states with the Russian president was of primary importance. Russia and Armenia have balanced relations because Armenia is a CIS member country. Azerbaijan has also joined the Commonwealth. [passage omitted]

Treaty Signed With Georgia on Russian Troops' Presence

LD0910120293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1032 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Oct—A treaty "On the legal status of military formations of the Russian Federation temporarily stationed on the territory of the Republic of Georgia" was signed today by the chiefs of two countries' armed forces general staffs—Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov and Major General Avtandil Tskitishvili.

Eight agreements were also signed that regulate the passage of Russian military echelons across Georgia; Russian forces' use of postal and electrical communications and radio frequencies; joint use of training areas, ports, aerodromes, and firing ranges; flight safety and the safety of sea passage; and procedures for providing legal assistance to the Russian military.

Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov told journalists these documents should be regarded as the basis for the development of bilateral military relations. There was no "strict decision" on "until what date and what hour" the Russian forces would remain on Georgian territory. "This is a dynamic process, and I do not rule out there may be more varied options," he said.

Mikhail Kolesnikov said that the grouping of Russian forces "had decreased considerably" and that in Georgia at present there were "three quite large garrisons—in Tbilisi, Batumi, and Akhalkalaki. The size of the latter two is up to one all-arms formation".

In response to a question from the ITAR-TASS correspondent about what the procedure would be for the sides' joint use of military installations, he said that in particular the port of Poti and Bambora airport would be handed over to the Russian forces on lease. Payment would be made in deliveries of raw material resources and electricity. At the same time, the joint use of military installations by mutual agreement is not ruled out.

In turn, Major General Avtandil Tskitishvili stated in an exclusive interview to the ITAR-TASS correspondent that the documents signed "impart a certain dynamism" not only to contacts between the military departments but also to the entire set of bilateral relations. "The ice of alienation is already thawing. The historic ties between our peoples must be restored, and I believe that the signing of treaties today is an historic event, an historic fact," he said.

At the talks that preceded the conclusion of the agreements, the possibility of the delivery of Russian military equipment to Georgia was not discussed. However, in General Tskitishvili's view, in the future the sides will discusss not only this problem but also other issues connected with the granting of Russian aid in the organizational development of Georgia's armed forces.

Military Aide Warns Shevardnadze Foes Against Attacks

AU0810145593 Paris AFP in English 1440 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Moscow, Oct 8 (AFP)—A Russian military official Friday warned former Georgian leader Zviad Gamsakhurdia of military action against his supporters as the country's current head of state said Georgia would join the CIS.

"Russian troops will take decisive steps to prevent new attacks," General Vasiliy Belchenko told a news conference in Tbilisi, referring to an attack on a Russian convoy in western Georgia earlier this week in which five troops died.

Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze made the announcement of Georgia's bid to join the Commonwealth of Independent States to the press as he emerged from Kremlin talks with presidents Boris Yeltsin of Russia, Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia and Gaydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan.

The decision to join the Commonwealth must be ratified by the Georgian Parliament.

Georgia had up to now refused to join the CIS, acussing Russian troops stationed on its territory of backing separatist rebels in the breakaway region of Abkhazia in western Georgia which fell to rebels late last month.

There are some 20,000 former Soviet troops still deployed in Georgia.

The conflict in Abkhazia triggered a new offensive by supporters of Gamsakhurdia who was exiled in the Russian republic of Chechnya until two weeks ago following his overthrow in an insurgency in January last year.

The Georgian Defense Ministry said Friday new clashes between Gamsakhurdia supporters and government troops at Samtredia in northwest Georgia caused "huge destructions" and casualties. [passage omitted]

Yeltsin Decrees

State of Emergency Extended Until 18 Oct

LD0910124093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1135 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, 9 Oct (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree today "On Extending the State of Emergency in the City of Moscow." The full text of the decree follows:

"To further normalize the situation in Moscow, to strengthen law and order, and ensure the safety of the city's inhabitants, I decree:

1. To extend the deadline for the state of emergency regime in the city of Moscow until 0500 hours on 18 October 1993.

2. The Moscow mayor, the commandant of the state of emergency district, and the organs of state government and administration, which are all ensuring the state of emergency regime, are to be strictly guided in their actions by the legislation in force and by Russian presidential decree no. 1578, dated 4 October 1993, 'On Urgent Measures to Ensure the State of Emergency Regime in the City of Moscow.'

3. As the situation in the city improves, the Moscow mayor will be permitted to abolish certain measures of the decree before the decree's deadline expires.

4. The decree comes into force from the moment of signing.

[Signed] Russian President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 9 October 1993"

Federation Council Elections Set for 12 Dec

PM1210105793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

["Edict of the Russian Federation President on Elections to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] In connection with the implementation of the reform of the representive organs of power and organs of local self-government in the Russian Federation, in order to ensure the representation of components of the Russian Federation in the Russian Federation Federal Assembly-Parliament, and in accordance with the Statute on Federal Organs of Power in the Transitional Period, I decree that:

1. Elections to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federal Council are to be scheduled for 12 December 1993.

2. The Statute on Elections of Federation Council Deputies in 1993 (attached) is to be approved.

3. The Central Electoral Commission for Elections to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma in 1993 is to become the Central Electoral Commission for Elections to the Federation Council and for Elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly in 1993.

4. It is to be laid down that common electoral precincts and precinct electoral commissions are to be created for the elections to the Federation Council and for the elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

5. Expenditure associated with the holding of elections to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council is to be met from Russian Federation republic budget funds.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government is to resolve the question of the prompt allocation of the requisite funds for elections to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council.

Functions of Local Soviets 'Terminated'

LD0910142893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1255 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, 9 Oct—Today Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Federation, signed a decree "On Reforming Representative Bodies of Power and Local Self-Government Bodies in the Russian Federation." Here follows the text of the decree:

In order to ensure genuine power by the people and the implementation of the constitutional principle of the division of powers, guided by Articles 1 and 3 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, I decree:

1. That it be necessary to reform the bodies of representative authority in the krays, oblasts, autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and cities of federal importance [Moscow and St.Petersburg], and local self-administration bodies;

2. That it be established that in the krays, oblasts, autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and cities of federal importance, the population elects the bodies of representative power (the assembly, duma, and so on) with a composition of 15-50 full-time deputies.

The representative body of a kray, oblast, autonomous oblast, autonomous okrug, and city of federal importance adopts normative-legal acts on issues delegated by the Russian Federation Constitution, Federation Treaty, and Russian Federation legislation to the jurisdiction of the representative bodies of the appropriate subjects of the Russian Federation, sets the appropriate budget and reports on its implementation, and carries out the control functions of a representative body;

3. That a federal state commission be formed to deal with reforming bodies of representative power and organize local self-government.

The federal state commission should work out and present to the president of the Russian Federation by 15 October suggestions for organizing new bodies of representative power and local self-government and on legal provisions for the elections to these bodies;

4. That previous to the election and commencement of work of the new bodies of representative power and local self-government the following be established:

Executive-administrative functions devolved by Russian Federation legislation to soviets of people's deputies of krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and cities of federal importance are carried out by the administration of the appropriate subject of the Russian Federation;

The budgets of krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and cities of federal importance are passed by the soviets of people's deputies with the agreement of the heads of administration of the appropriate subject of the Russian Federation.

Local budgets are passed with the consent of the local administration;

The functioning of rayon soviets of people's deputies in towns, town soviets in rayons and settlements, and rural soviets is terminated and their functions are carried out by the relevant local administration;

The state bodies of krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, towns under federal jurisdiction and the bodies of local self-government exercise their powers in accordance with the existing legislation of the Russian Federation, in so far as it does not run counter to the present decree.

5. In the event of the self-dissolution of a soviet of people's deputies or the impossibility for a soviet to exercise its powers because of the lack of the necessary quorum, the functions of the body of representative power are to be temporarily carried out by the relevant administration.

6. The bodies of state power in the republics within the Russian Federation are recommended to take account of the provisions of this decree in dealing with matters connected with the reform of state bodies and bodies of local self-government in the republic.

7. The present decree comes into force at the moment of signing.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of Russian Federation

[Dated]Moscow, Kremlin, 9 October 1993

State Support for Local Government Planned

LD0910131393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1209 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, 9 Oct—As the president's press service reported, Russian President Boris Yeltsin today signed a decree "On Some Measures for Giving State Support to Local Government." The decree's full text follows:

"In connection with the need for local government to become part of the general process of creating democracy in Russia and with the aim of strengthening state support for local government authorities, I decree:

"1. To make it incumbent upon the Council of Ministers-Government of Russia to work out a draft federal program of state support for local government (to be named hereafter the federal program).

"2. To present the draft of the federal program to the Russian president no later than 25 November 1993.

"3. To include in the federal program instructions regarding measures to be implemented to provide financial, organizational, procedural, and informative assistance to bodies of local self-government and to set up a system for training and upgrading their personnel.

"4. To instruct the Council of Ministers-Government of Russia that before drawing up the federal program it should define the most important measures needed to provide state support for local self-government in Russia.

[Signed] "Russian President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] "Moscow, Kremlin 9 October 1993"

Decree Expected on Legislative Priorities

LD0810185393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin is expected to sign a decree this Friday-Saturday to determine the list of priority legislative acts to be developed in the near future, a well informed source close to the presidential administration told Interfax. In his words, these bills, to be developed by the State legal department and presidential commission on legislative initiatives should be submitted to the Federal assembly for consideration.

He called for new Criminal and Civil Codes, principles of legislation on the Bar, and several other bills among priority legislative acts.

Edict on Visas for Moscow Visitors Expected

MK1210081193 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Hold the Front Page" rubric: "Moscow Is Going To Be a Closed City After All"]

[Text] A presidential edict introducing visas for visitors to the capital will most probably be signed by Boris Yeltsin right after his trip to Japan.

MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS has learned from official sources in Moscow's administration that this edict will in fact duplicate the Moscow authorities' decision made last spring on the registration of citizens visiting Moscow. At that time, however, the Moscow government's attempt to turn the capital into a closed city failed. Opposition from the Supreme Soviet and the Moscow City Soviet was too strong. However, now that these structures, which compromised themselves in the rebellion, have been disbanded, the president has decided to make this decision himself.

The edict is expected to retain the three main provisions: sweeping registration for all citizens arriving in Moscow; a fee for staying in the capital; and administrative liability for violating the visa regulation. The fines to be imposed on violators will now be increased from two to five minimum monthly paychecks.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Issues Statement on Elections, Foreign Policy

LD0810131493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1246 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—The following statement of Russian President Boris Yeltsin was circulated here today by the presidential press service:

"I am grateful to all friendly states and international organizations, all those who supported us on difficult days decisive for the fate of democracy.

"We will boost democratic transformations and economic reforms.

"I confirm that free elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federal Assembly will be held at scheduled time—December, 1993, and presidential elections will follow.

"All politicians, parties and movements that did not stain their good name with direct involvement in the revolt are guaranteed equal possibilities, including access to mass media.

"I welcome international observers to attend the elections.

"The foreign policy of the Russian state remains unchanged. It continues to aim at fulfilment of Russian national-state interests through good-neighbourliness, consolidation of the Commonwealth, partnership with democratic states, the United Nations, CSCE and other international institutions."

Yeltsin: Staff Worked Normally During Unrest

LD1110092093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Russian President Boris Yeltsin flew to Tokyo early this morning on an official visit. [passage omitted]

Talking about the situation in Russia, Yeltsin stressed that it is under control. In his words, he is certain there will be no complications whatsoever. The president denied the report that appeared in certain mass media that the presidential staff had been unable to work normally for several hours during the unrest in Moscow. Yeltsin stressed that if this was not a provocation then it was disinformation. My entire staff and I worked normally, he said.

Parties Charged With Involvement in Coup Attempt Listed

MK0810115893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 2

[Yevgeniy Krasnikov report under the "Repercussions" rubric: "Parties Divided According to Their Degree of Loyalty. What May Follow?"]

[Text] According to reports received by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, "competent bodies" have compiled a list of 28 public and political organizations dividing them into three categories depending on the degree of their involvement in the coup d'etat of 3-4 October. The list was submitted to the Russian prosecutor's office, the Justice Ministry, etc.

The first category includes 14 public and political organizations that have been charged with direct involvement in the armed attack on the Moscow City Hall building and the "Ostankino" Television and Radio Company at the level of organizational structures, such as the National Salvation Front, the Russian Communist Workers' Party, the Moscow branch of the Russian National Council [Sobor], the Russian National Unity, the Officers Union (and its Moscow branch), the Russian Party of Communists, the United Workers' Front (and its Moscow branch), the Union of Communist Parties-CPSU, the "Working Russia" movement, the "Working Moscow" movement, the "Shchit" ["Shield"] Union for Social and Legal Protection of Servicemen, Persons Subject to Military Service Obligation, and Their Family Members, and the trade union of militia officers of Moscow.

Assigned to the second category are eight parties and movements whose members "participated in the attack on the Moscow City Hall building and the 'Ostankino' Television and Radio Company individually," including the Russian Federation Communist Party, the Union of Communists, the All-Union Lenin Youth Communist League (VLKSM), the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, the Russian Party of National Revival, the

Revival Party, the Constitutional Democratic Party-People's Freedom Party, and the Russian Christian Democratic Movement.

The third, "lightest," group encompasses six associations that supported the parliament through nonviolent actions: the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, the General Confederation of Trade Unions (they have been charged with calling for political strikes), the Union of Russia's Rebirth, the Congress of Russian Communities, the Moscow branch of the Democratic Party of Russia, and the Moscow branch of this party's youth division (these organizations have been blamed for holding a rally in support of the Russian parliament on 2 October).

Ministry Suspends Zyuganov's, Rutskoy's Parties

PM0810164193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

["Own Information" report under the "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" rubric: "Activities of Zyuganov's Party and That of Rutskoy and Lipitskiy Suspended"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Ministry of Justice has issued a directive suspending the activities of two more parties: the Free Russia People's Party (Chairman A. Rutskoy, Chairman of the Board V. Lipitskiy) and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (Central Executive Committee Chairman G. Zyuganov).

This decision was based on materials submitted by the commandant of the city of Moscow state of emergency region and the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office.

Chernomyrdin To Assume 'Head of State' Duties During Yeltsin Trip

LD0910192793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] On 11 October, the day after tomorrow, the official visit by the president of Russia to Tokyo begins. [passage omitted] For the period of Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan the duties of head of state will be carried out by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Chernomyrdin Interviewed on Crisis

LD1210085793

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1902 GMT on 11 October carries a 53-minute recording of an interview with Russian Prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin in its "Without Retouching" program.

Presenter Sergey Torchinskiy first explains the procedure for the interview whereby journalists taking part in the program pose their questions individually. Chernomyrdin, asked to comment on recent events in Moscow, declines to commment other than to say that the lessons of the recent conflict in Moscow are clear, without explanation, and that it is difficult to understand or explain why people had died. He goes on to say: "I think that the main question today is what happened, who was to blame, and how it was allowed to happen. That is why the fact that we lost so many people is very difficult to explain, especially to those people who lost someone, to those who are no longer with us, to their families, their parents, relatives and friends. It is difficult to explain it to them. It is difficult for us to explain, but it is even more difficult for them to understand. That is why I can only say one thing here: Those people who lost their lives—and I do not make any distinction between them today—they are our people, citizens of Russia. We could have done without it. I can say it unambiguously.

"I think that all of you want to ask me, or many of you anyway, whether it was possible to avoid it, whether everything was done. If I were not a direct participant—I, at least, knew how things had started, how they had begun and how they were developing. I can say that as far as the president and the government were concerned—and it has always been the government's business—we did everything possible to avoid bloodshed. We did our best using all means—available and unavailable. Then they [as heard] started to reproach us and ask us what we were doing. They started phoning us from the regions, saying that we kept the whole country in suspense; why were we not taking measures; did not we have forces or the ability to do it? We had it all—forces and ability—but we could hardly imagine that...[pauses] a week has now gone by, a bit more than a week, it is Monday today. In essence, events were at their height just then, we could hardly imagine that they could decide to do it. Even more so since those were the people we knew, the people who were forever coming out with slogans and giving assurances that they want the best for our country, for Russia and its people. Unfortunately, we made a mistake here. It was a fatal mistake."

Chernomyrdin then says that the government and the president did not set conditions for the people in the White House, wanting only to stop the bloodshed, which they would have done had it been possible.

Chernomyrdin continues: "While conducting negotiations, we said: You hand in the weapons, we remove all the cordons, and then we can talk, negotiate, and discuss matters. No one set any conditions. No, it was they who set new conditions, and then further conditions. Moreover, once it became known that they had fighters [boyeviki] there not just from Russia, but also from outside Russia, people who already knew what bloodshed was all about, then our last condition was that the weapons had to be removed from the White House or from those people."

Chernomyrdin goes on to say that investigations currently taking place will establish the precise chain of events and commands.

Journalists' questions begin with a ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent suggesting that one question is most worrying the population—what to do now? Chernomyrdin says that most people are busy with the economy and the harvest. The economic situation is now under control, he says, and price hikes should be more steady from now on. He says that most prices depend on the price of bread, and people on low incomes must be protected from bread price rises.

Another correspondent calls Chernomyrdin's competence into question, to which Chernomyrdin says that there had been incompetents before him, and he does as much as he can. The correspondent presses the question, detailing areas in which Chernomyrdin has no experience. Chernomyrdin replies by detailing how long the reforms had been continuing.

A correspondent asks if psychological profiles of Rutskoy and Khasbulatov had been compiled before the attack on the White House. Chernomyrdin says that they should have been.

A MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS correspondent suggests that Chernomyrdin had not been giving any straight answers, and goes on to ask: "According to you this situation was under control. The army arrived in time. The Internal Affairs Ministry acted according to plan. All the awards that are now being given out testify to the fact that you are right. But things that took place that day and that night testify to the fact that there was complete confusion and chaos."

Chernomyrdin responds: "Comrades, I would like to say once again that as for the confusion, I have already talked about it. As for the failure to forecast, we did forecast. We gathered a lot of forces together. We understood that if real fire were to be opened, people would be capable of doing anything. We thought of this, and I cannot hide it from you, and I am not hiding away the fact that we had weapons and troops ready—not in Moscow, though—in the suburbs of Moscow. We thought that they could do anything, might do anything. I would like to say once again, those were not training exercises in an open field, those were not military actions. This is not a military town on a front line. This is Moscow, with a population of 9 million people, plus 3 million visitors. And in this situation...[pauses] I am not trying to justify ourselves. There is nothing good in what happened. We should have stopped all those street clashes and fights between crowds. By then we should probably have brought in more servicemen and people who could stop it. Once again it is difficult to justify our moves here, and there is no justification. But one cannot just accuse us of not doing anything and of not knowing anything. Imagine this did not take place; imagine we did not take those measures. What would have happened then?"

A Radio Liberty correspondent asks: "Viktor Stepanovich, Sergey Glazyev, former member of your government, minister of foreign economic relations, did not just support decree 1400 issued by Yeltsin, but, as far as I know, became an informal adviser to Rutskoy as soon as he resigned. How can you explain why he made this particular choice?"

Chernomyrdin replies: "You know, it is difficult to explain. When I look back, proceeding from the statement that he wrote, I can see that he has been advizing Aleksandr Vladimirovich [Rutskoy] for a long time. It is not that he started doing it once he wrote his resignation statement and left Borovikha for the White House. He had been his adviser for a long time, but evidently, played for both sides. When the question of releasing Glazyev from his ministerial duties arose, we did not just release him, we tried to keep this person, although there were indications and warnings saying that he played for both sides. Some documents reached the Supreme Soviet earlier than they should have done. Some working documents which were still under discussion would immediately reach the former Supreme Soviet. We now think that it was Glazyev who did it."

Chernomyrdin is asked by a correspondent what the government's future plans are. Chernomyrdin tells the correspondent to read the government's budget plans to understand the government program. "You can't have everything at once," he says.

An Ostankino correspondent asks about investment in gas. Chernomyrdin says that private and state investment is being put into the pipeline being constructed through Belarus.

A Radio Russia correspondent asks about media and organizations loyal to the government which have fallen under the ban on those that had called for violence. Chernomyrdin says he knows of no such cases, but it should not have happened.

A KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent asks if any government program set specific time targets for dealing with economic issues. Chernomyrdin says that he can not give guarantees of quick results. He outlines the government's approach to reducing inflation. Chernomyrdin refutes a suggestion by a KP correspondent that the government has adopted contradictory decisions. When the correspondent cites examples, Chernomyrdin points out that complete agreement is impossible when difficult decisions have to be made. Chernomyrdin says that he is proud of the fact that members of the government have their own opinions.

A FINANCIAL AND BUSINESS NEWS correspondent recalls Gaydar's sacking, and asks if, under the new conditions Chernomyrdin would be ready to return to Gaydar-style reforms. Chernomyrdin says that the worst part of the reforms is already past, and that he knows what he is doing and what has to be done.

A LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent asks if the recent disturbances had really happened, and if so, why most of those arrested had been released. Chernomyrdin says that those planning the disturbances had wanted disorder in the country, but had not achieved it because there was no popular support. He says that the innocent parties who had been urged to riot should be released.

An INTERFAX correspondent asks why the Supreme Soviet leadership had not accepted Chernomyrdin's proposals even when it was clear that they had lost. Chernomyrdin says that they never lost hope, and he could not understand why. He says that they might have been hoping for help from the military, and had confused support from the soviets with support from the people.

Torchinskiy asks if the Supreme Soviet had any alternative economic program, to which Chernomyrdin points out that all they had ever done was contradict presidential and governmental decisions and fail to approve new laws.

Ending the program, Torchinskiy asks Chernomyrdin: "How do you view the future?" to which Chernomyrdin responds: "With optimism." Torchinskiy asks: "What do you base this on?" Chernomyrdin says: "On knowing my stuff."

Gaydar Comments on Crisis, Future Policies

Views Risks of Democratic Course

MK0910131593 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 12/14, 8-14 Oct 93 (signed to press 7 Oct) p 6

[Interview with First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar by Yelena Dikun; place and date not given: "It Is Not Easy To Go Along the Narrow Path Between Anarchy and Totalitarianism"]

[Text] [Dikun] So, at this stage the presidential camp is scoring a victory but, based on the experience of August 1991 and last April, we already know what dangerous consequences this victory can have. Already now there are quite a few alarming signs. For instance, many purely procedural violations of the law have occurred with respect to the corps of deputies. Moreover, Democratic Russia has organized its volunteer units in Moscow which are arresting deputies of the Moscow City Council and the Kievskiy District Council. Cadre reshuffles and infighting are beginning in the [presidential] team. In other words, are we not going to witness another revelry by the winners, when democratic freedoms are violated, or is democracy being put aside so that it does not act as a hindrance?

[Gaydar] We have already seen on many occasions how dangerous any deviation from the law can be, and we did not want to do that precisely because we understood that very well. Russia is a country historically inclined toward extremes. This constantly manifests itself in words and in deeds—either all or nothing. If we violate legality, freedom of expression, or anything else, we take things to a level of total permissiveness and irresponsibility, unprecedented in world practice, to war and violence. This is in fact what has actually happened here. As for our opponents, they very quickly turn the law into a truncheon which they use to hit their opponent more effectively as well as to drive him into a prison cell or, better still, into a concentration camp. This alternative in fact has no easy solutions.

The president has found himself in an interesting situation: Whatever he did would be decried the following day by a bunch of smart journalists as totally wrong. But if the president did not do "that," they would still criticize him. The main thing is that in the final analysis all this is true because this is the truth of life. The president may be reproached in the first place for not taking sufficiently energetic and tough actions. On 3 October our "friends" showed very graphically what they had been moving toward and what they wanted to obtain using their legal rights. We have stopped violence, enforced order, and prevented a fascist-style regime, but two natural risks arise here.

The first risk is to do nothing but talk and chatter and come to a situation where two months from now we shall have the same lawlessness, the same unbridled totalitarian propaganda, and the same provocative policy, i.e., everything that is pushing the country into civil war—although I think that this cannot happen a third time.

The second risk arising from this is to go to extremes again. Today it is terrifying that we could again fall into the excesses of totalitarian society or unrestrained democracy. It is not at all easy to move along this narrow path between anarchy and totalitarianism; therefore, at present the main task for the authorities is to restore the effectiveness and efficiency of the state mechanism, individual rights, legality, and order and to guarantee that there will be no fomenting of class or ethnic strife which leads to civil war. I admit that in the next few day some serious excesses are possible simply as a reaction to what has happened.

The president, as far as I understand and know him, is characterized by magnanimity toward a defeated opponent. But this time these fine human qualities must not prevent the restoration of the effectiveness of the state machine.

[Dikun] Today, however, the victorious ruling authority has no restraining mechanisms left. No matter whether the parliament was good or bad, nonetheless it was an opposition. And again public forces have no instrument to influence the authorities. What guarantees are there that with this setup the ruling authority will not fall into undivided rule?

[Gaydar] Regardless of particular, ongoing disagreements and natural political polemics and diatribes, if democracy in Russia is dear to us, we must, as soon as possible, restore the capability of the democratically

elected institution. Therein lies the guarantee because a new, legally elected parliament is quite another thing and a totally different situation.

Moreover, it is my profound conviction that the main lesson that we have drawn from what is happening is the importance of public politics. Our opponents, although they were very well organized and decisive, did not win because they failed to obtain serious, powerful public support. And this was despite the fact that in "our" various structures there were a lot of mistakes, a lack of coordination, and confusion. In this context I do not believe that there are no public counterweights. It is another matter that at present they have not been put into action. But if, unexpectedly, events start to move in quite a different direction, the public mood will be a very serious restraining element.

[Dikun] Many think that at present a clash should be expected between the political and the economic parts of the team. Because the political part is dominated by radicals who have shown themselves visibly in the recent period while in the economic part there are people—Chernomyrdin and the "new" Gaydar—who for the most part are working quietly. And again extreme radicals will start reproaching them with delays, procrastination, doing nothing, losing out....

[Gaydar] Some internal disagreements are inevitable—this is an inalienable element of any undertaking. Yet it is very bad when they come into the open and affect society. The most important thing for the economy now is sociopolitical tranquillity. To ensure this, I repeat, elections must be held as soon as possible. If there is a responsible parliament that does not destroy the economy with its own hands, then a period of calm will ensue, allowing us to create at least a minimal sense of stability without which all market mechanisms are working here with tremendous strain.

[Dikun] Are any squabbles possible in your circle, based on who did what in the October days: Who was the first to come, who was the last to go, who was courageous, and so forth?

[Gaydar] At such moments as those October or August days very much is revealed. Someone suddenly falls ill; someone cannot be reached on the phone; someone is simply moving in another direction. I do not favor great purges, but complacency and a rose-colored approach are also out of place here. After all, it is important to know with whom you are working.

Cautions Against 'Emergency Laws'

MK0810114993 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 3

[Vera Kuznetsova report under the "Reform" rubric: "How To Live Through Two Months Until the Elections? Yegor Gaydar: 'One Should Not Yield to the Temptation of Making Emergency Laws'"]

[Text] "It is now too early to sum up the political results. They will be determined by what the president and the government are really going to do in the near future," said First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar at yesterday's press conference on Staraya Ploshchad. I would also ask an important question about what they are not going to do. Judging by what the first vice premier said, the government is not going to be further guided by "emergency considerations." "It would be very dangerous," Gaydar pointed out, "if, under the impact of natural feelings, we should overstep the necessary measures in protecting democracy...." It has become known to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA that Boris Yeltsin also does not see any cause today to extend the emergency situation.

The government and the president, however, remain the only lawmakers for the two months before the elections. The situation is extraordinary in itself. Saying that the cabinet is at the present time drawing up a package of normative acts that go beyond existing laws, Yegor Gaydar added: "Here one should not yield to the temptation of making emergency laws."

For the time being the government is busy reorganizing the Social Insurance Fund and finalizing the privatization program for 1993- 1994. New civil and criminal codes and a law on labor are in preparation. The laws on property and state enterprises will be amended before the Federal Assembly goes to work. "We have rejected a law increasing tax rates," Gaydar advised. "A new ideology for the 1994 budget is being elaborated." A remarkable thing about the future budget is that it will provide for only one federal income tax of 11-14 percent (this has not been yet decided); as regards the other taxes, it will be up to the regions to set the rates depending on their own resources.

As for a law on buying and selling land, the first vice premier said that an internal discussion is under way on this score—whether to lift all restrictions on the right to own land, or to farm out the drafting of new land legislation to the State Duma.

Holds Briefing

PM1110154193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Mikhail Berger report: ""Temporary' Government in Conditions of Temporary Freedom From Parliament"]

[Text] Since the date of the elections was confirmed, the Russian Government has automatically acquired the status of a temporary government, as it were, since a new cabinet will also appear in the wake of the new legislative organ. What are the present government leaders, many of whom are presumably hoping to retain or strengthen their positions, planning to do in the economic sphere?

On 7 October First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar held a briefing at which he set out the government's economic intentions and some of its political intentions.

Asked by IZVESTIYA what the government is now proposing to do out of the things it was impossible to do before, the deputy prime minister replied as follows. There is the opportunity to prepare and implement a sensible budget for the fourth quarter and cut credit quotas several times over in relation to the level dictated by the former Supreme Soviet.

It is quite obvious that the federal authorities headed by the president will endeavor to exploit the prevailing situation in order to pursue a firmer policy regarding the regions. An edict on the procedure for appointing heads of administrations has already been signed. They will be appointed by presidential edict at the submission of the government. This fact gives a chance of ensuring that the policy of the Council of Ministers and of regional administrations will at least be better coordinated.

We have abandoned the idea of increasing tax rates, although the proposal had emerged, Gaydar said. One of the most effective courses in present conditions, Gaydar believes, is to lower the burden on state spending. In addition, a fundamentally new budget process is being elaborated for 1994, envisaging a fixed level of federal profits tax (around 12 percent) with all the rest left to the regions.

As for the republics that are already failing to pay federal taxes, at present there are three real defaulters: Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and Yakutia. Each instance requires an individual approach, the deputy prime minister said, and we will work with them. How? This is a complex and delicate problem. These republics have needs of their own, which they are bringing to the federal authorities...

It is planned to reorganize the social insurance system, which was under the control of the former parliament. Enormous financial resources have been accumulated here, but, Gaydar believes, they were used extremely inefficiently and often simply misused.

It is proposed to prepare and adopt a privatization program not just for the current year but for next year as well.

At a session in the very near future, the government intends to examine new fundamentals of civil legislation. New fundamentals of criminal and labor legislation are being examined. Options for resolving the land question are being studied. But the executive branch, Gaydar remarked, is not going to lapse into a frenzy of lawmaking. Even the most necessary and sensible norms adopted in emergency conditions can be revised. Certain edicts will specifically stipulate that they are in force only until the State Duma examines the question.

The question of Gaydar's nighttime appeal and of the actions of the power departments on 3-4 October naturally arose at the briefing. Now, with hindsight, Gaydar remarked, it is fine to analyze what professionals should do and whether unarmed citizens can be summoned as defenders. When for the last two years everybody has been telling the army that it should not take part in operations against its own citizens, how and by what edict can the military be forced to suddenly review this position? And before whom should they discharge their duty? The unarmed people who took to the streets at night to a great extent resolved the hesitations which had arisen. But the arguments about law and about whether or not you can appeal to fellow citizens for assistance in such instances, Gaydar added, given a certain combination of circumstances, could be an excellent topic for discussion in a concentration camp.

Speaking about the role of security organs at present, the first deputy prime minister remarked that they behaved extremely strangely. Admittedly, the government has not decided to reorganize the Security Ministry, but after the events of 3-4 October I cannot fathom why we should retain such security organs in such a form, Gaydar declared, adding that in this case he was expressing his own view.

Today it is obvious that two extremely important factors will decisively influence the government's tactics over the next two months. On the one hand there is freedom from oversight by legislators, and on the other there are the upcoming elections, which substantially restrict freedom of action. At any rate, no especially drastic decisions should be expected in this period, even if circumstances require this.

Use of Army Discussed

PM1210083193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[Irina Savvateyeva account of remarks by Yegor Gaydar; place and date not given: "Yegor Gaydar: All This Could Have Been a Subject for Discussion in the Concentration Camp"]

[Text] "The decision to call out unarmed people onto the streets during those days was a very difficult one for me. Because the risk to them was obvious. But we only needed to look at the streets and at what was being done in the power structures for the decision to be made. If we had lost that night (which was entirely realistic, in my view), there would not have been any time to discuss what Yerin should have done, what the president should have done, or how the military should have behaved... All this could have been a wonderful subject for discussion in the concentration camp.

"For me there is no doubt that the situation was turned around by ordinary people.

"But let's remember how many times we ourselves said that the Army should not interfere in politics. How many

times we have all stressed that the use of force should not be permitted in domestic political conflicts under any circumstances. Now imagine what kind of order you could use to change all this overnight. The Army is a complex mechanical device: First you change direction and say that it cannot get involved in politics; the next day you change again and it transpires that it can indeed get involved. Moreover, it has to. It has to go in, fire the big guns, and kill people... That is why I perfectly understand (and understood that Sunday) the enormous difficulties in the way of using the Armed Forces in this conflict.

"It turned out that the militia were not ready for battle. The Armed Forces were—but for a battle against a different enemy. People are saying that the military had to do their duty. First they had to understand what their duty was!

"We still have a very young and unstable democratic state. We still have a very long way to go before we can mold the kind of stable democratic society that does not depend on the arrival (or nonarrival) of several thousand people at a critical juncture but is guaranteed by unshakable democracy over many years. And our main task in covering that distance is not to trip up anywhere, not to come unstuck in critical situations such as 19 August or 3-4 October.

"I am being accused of everything at the moment. I have just been reading [the columnist] German—someone I greatly respect—in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. He writes: Yes, Gaydar himself went out there, but for some reason he did not take his family with him. I started to try to work out what he was getting at. It turns out that my entire adult family—from my 70-year-old father to my 20-year-old nephew—were all there. But I indeed did not take my 3-year-old son with me... You know, when people are afraid they later spend a long time rationalizing their fear. If we today very clearly give people the idea that the freedom of our country is not our business and that professionals should worry about it, then next time—and God forbid anything of the sort should happen again—things will be very hard for us."

Filatov Comments on Deputies' Future at News Conference

LD0810141493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1313 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Comments by Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential staff, at news conference in Moscow on 8 October in response to question by Mayak commentator Yuriy Korotkov—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Korotkov] [passage omitted] I asked Sergey Filatov to say something about what the future holds for the former people's deputies of Russia, members of the Supreme Soviet. Will they be able to find decent ways to use their knowledge and energy?

[Filatov] A considerable number of deputies will work in commissions on human rights, on legislative proposals—things that are close to them professionally. Some will work in the constitutional commission, which the president is forming. I think this is the main thing. As for other former deputies, those who took part in this madness—there are 130 of them, I believe—they should not be working here. They should go home and find a job back there. I think we should not be repeating again the experience with Sazhi Umalatova, who remained here in Moscow and led the activities absolutely incompatible with the work of any normal public organization.

All other former deputies are getting jobs in various ministerial departments. Many of them are professional people. You know, there were not so many lawyers among the deputies, less than 50. They were mainly military men, political workers, and soviets' functionaries. There were also considerable groups of people from industries, the agrarian sector; there was a large group of people from the medical profession, teachers, and scientists. So, those who have not lost their professional skills are now getting jobs. About 400 deputies have already expressed their wish to work.

Evaluates Regional Reaction, Constitution

PM1210092193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Georgiy Ivanov-Smolenskiy: "Sergey Filatov: Future Parliament Could Be Unicameral"]

[Text] A press conference of Sergey Filatov, leader of the Russian president's apparatus, was held 8 October. At the press conference Filatov described the situation in the country.

A whole series of regional soviets has decided to hold sessions in the next few days at which they intend to discuss their future fate. Some soviets, in particular the Altay, Novosibirsk, and Tambov soviets, are continuing to adopt a tough stance with regard to the president's edicts but these are obviously in a minority. Touching on the future form of representative organs locally, S. Filatov said that the option of transforming the Moscow City Soviet into the Moscow State Duma could be entirely acceptable but the final decision will be made after the regions send in their suggestions.

The Constitutional Conference, which should submit the final text of the draft of the new Constitution by 5 November, will resume its work soon. In S. Filatov's view it would be most expedient to adopt the new constitution at a nationwide referendum at the same time as the December elections to the State Duma—this would help to legitimize the situation in Russia as soon as possible. As for the structure of the future parliament, S. Filatov did not rule out the possibility that for some transitional period, because of the lack of clarity regarding the fate of the soviets, the new supreme organ of representative power could be unicameral, without the federation councils.

Answering a question about the political forces' participation in the forthcoming elections, the leader of the president's apparatus expressed the view that the Russian Federation Communist Party headed by Gennadiy ZYuganov, which is not yet on the list of banned parties, should not be allowed to take part in them. "The country has had enough of this madness," S. FIlatov said. "But the final decision will not be political. It will be made by the Ministry of Justice in accordance with the law." In the very near future, it was announced at the press conference, a presidential edict will be sign on granting equal opportunities to all participants in the election struggle in the mass media.

Sergey Filatov also said that so far former people's deputies Voronin, Agafonov, Syrovatko, and Konstantinov have not been found but in his view it is in their own interests to appear as soon as possible since "the whole country knows their faces."

Chubays Discusses 'Tragic Events' in Moscow

LD0910201293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1645 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 9 Oct—"The tragic events in Moscow became possible because there are many people in Moscow as well as in Russia as a whole who seriously support the ideology of the Supreme Soviet," Anatoliy Chubays, deputy prime minister of the Russian Government, has said in an exclusive interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent. "Khasbulatov and Rutskoy would have been worth nothing had not they had the support of those who think that by violence and fascist and communist mechanisms something can be done for the revival of Russia. Perhaps these people are three or five percent of the population, but if one multiplies this by the numbers of the Russian population, we will receive those thousands who, with truncheons and sticks, were smashing the mayor's building and 'Ostankino.'"

It is crazy and hopeless to think that reforms of such depth and complexity can be implemented harmlessly. This is simply a political waffle. Everyone has to pay a high price not only for changing the style under which the government works but also for changing the foundations of state. This means it will concern everyone, Anatoliy Chubays said.

Our economy cannot survive under the burden of gigantic enterprises of the military-industrial complex, but the people who are working there are not to blame for that. The alternative is either the economy will collapse completely or tough and hard decisions will have to be made to amputate ailing parts of the economy. It seems, Chubays said, that the most difficult part of the way has been passed already—the people of Russia have survived the liberalization of prices in 1992.

As for the status of local soviets, under the circumstances they were offered the chance to emerge from the situation in which they have found themselves peacefully and to save face, including most reactionary soviets, as well as the former democratic St. Petersburg soviet, which sunk so low as to condemn the president's decree. All deputies and soviets who supported the former Russian parliament are responsible for the bloody events.

The main task facing the economy now is to rescue the budget. Resolute measures to recover it will be taken in the very near future. Anyway, the ruble is working, but, in his opinion, as long as Gerashchenko remains the chairman of the Central Bank, the reforms in the credit and financial system will skid. "Despite all financial difficulties, a complex painful period for the country should soon end, and I believe a healthy Russia will emerge from this and will revive," the deputy prime minister said in conclusion.

Possibility of Shakhray Resignation Discussed

PM0810150793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 2

[Interview with Sergey Surov, press secretary to Sergey Shakhray, by Andrey Podkopalov: "Quiet: Shakhray Is Thinking..."]

[Text] According to the mass media, Sergey Shakhray has announced his intention to resign. Here is what Sergey Surov, Shakhray's press secretary, told us in a telephone conversation:

[Surov] In the first place, no decision to resign has yet been made. When discussing the prevailing situation with other high-ranking officials, Sergey Mikhaylovich expressed a negative view of some trends that have emerged in the authorities' actions and said that, if they intensified, he would be forced to resign. I stress that this was not an official statement; it was a simple discussion which has leaked into the press...

[Podkopalov] What specifically does Sergey Shakhray disagree with?

[Surov] With what he sees as the hasty dissolution of some local soviets. And with the indefinite postponement of the Federation Council session—this treatment of the leaders of the regional organs of representative power was insulting...

Sergey Mikhaylovich does not like the atmosphere of victory euphoria being created by some representatives of the authorities...

[Podkopalov] There has been talk of his disagreement with certain cadre changes...

[Surov] He is opposed to the haste with which all this is happening...

[Podkopalov] So, has he resigned?

[Surov] At the moment this is an intention that will be carried out if the situation continues to develop as it is doing right now...

Shakhray Comments

PM1110104993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Irina Demchenko: "Shakhray Really May Resign"]

[Text] In an interview with IZVESTIYA Sergey Shakhray confirmed that he has indeed raised the question of his resignation from the post of prime minister, but has not issued a statement. This happened last Tuesday at a conference of leaders of the components of the Federation.

The immediate pretext for such a drastic statement from the usually restrained and loyal Shakhray was the scandalous disruption of the Federation Council session scheduled for that day.

Eyewitnesses say that the leaders of representational and executive power of the regions were summoned to Moscow by special telegram. But the session, scheduled for 1000 hours, was put off until the afternoon. Some local power organ leaders, including executive power leaders, for the first time had problems entering the Russian Government building.

To avoid losing time Sergey Shakhray, who is responsible for work with the regions in the government, assembled a working group of approximately 30 executive and representational power leaders who set about completing work on the documents for the council session. After 1200 hours it emerged that it was not the president but the prime minister who would hold the session, and not in the Kremlin but on Staraya Square. Before the session itself Gennadiy Petelin, leader of the premier's secretariat, stated that only the heads of executive power were being invited to the session and chairmen of the local soviets could go home. As a result the Federation Council did not take place: In the situation which had taken shape it proved impossible to discuss and adopt any documents.

Explaining the reasons for the statement about his resignation, Sergey Shakhray also said that he does not share the victorious euphoria that has gripped some of the president's entourage, since he believes what happened in Moscow to have been a national tragedy. He opposes the strong-arm tactics persistently proposed to the president and believes some of the rapidly made cadres decision to be wrong. In addition Shakhray does not support the idea of the immediate dissolution of the soviets of all levels which is being persistently recommended to the president. "We cannot make decisions which cannot be fulfilled," he said on this subject. In Shakhray's opinion the soviets must be reformed gradually, being deprived of their executive-administrative functions which are alien to representative power and which were invested in them by the former Russian Supreme Soviet.

Sergey Shakhray confirmed that the leaders of the components of the Federation asked him to take his time over resigning. The organizational committee of the Russian Unity and Accord Party, of which he is leader, expressed itself in the same key. A curious detail: The members of the organizational committee were in Moscow because they were to take part in a session of the Federation Council which did not take place but to which they belong ex officio.

You form the impression that Shakhray is increasingly inclined to go. Obviously he will run for the state duma.

Position, Power of Soskovets Assessed

PM1110083793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Valeriy Kucher report: "Oleg Soskovets' New Role"]

[Text] Oleg Soskovets has chaired a sitting of the government commission for operational questions two days after the suppression of the October revolt. It is scarcely worth looking for a symbolic link between the tragic events and this meeting. It was an ordinary sitting, like many already held under the chairmanship of the first vice premier. This is important, necessary, everyday work. Even the complex of topical questions which result tragically from the revanche attempt—the restoration of the devastated Ostankino television center and the damaged buildings of the Moscow city hall, the "Mir" hotel, and the "White House," and the elaboration of measures to improve the situation in the capital—do not distinguish this sitting from ordinary sittings.

But it was there that the assessment of Oleg Soskovets' role and place in the Cabinet of Ministers was consolidated. You cannot ignore the recent increase in his influence in the government, displayed in the reinforcement of his personal responsibility for seeking approaches to resolving urgent economic problems. A great deal now depends on how effective his decisions are, how well their implementation is organized, and what results are achieved.

Oleg Soskovets no longer has to face the usual obstacles generated by endless coordination in the organs of legislative power, and the moral terror exercised by structures protected by the deputies has disappeared. Furthermore, finances, resources, and manpower are henceforth concentrated in the government. We are observing a process of concentration of power, close to monopoly. In this situation, it would seem simpler to resolve topical issues at state level, but now there is nowhere to hide and no one to hide behind. Every figure in the federal seat of power is under careful social scrutiny, and his errors and his successes are in full view. Various spheres of the government's activity are now personified, and individual responsibility for the consequences of decisions

being adopted is clearly illuminated. In order for people to trust the government in this situation, the people working in government must have a statesmanlike approach to state work; they must be professionals capable of making correct calculations; and they must be devoid of populist appeal but filled with inner strength.

No doubt it was these considerations that guided Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin when they put forward Oleg Soskovets for the role of managing leader and practical leader in the government. As we know, another Oleg aspired to this role—Oleg Lobov. Oleg Soskovets pushed his rival aside, but not with the help of intrigues and games behind the scenes: It was exclusively thanks to his ability to combine the course of reforms with the needs of the day. As head of government before Viktor Chernomyrdin, Yegor Gaydar discovered this characteristic in Oleg Soskovets. It was Yegor Timurovich who was the initiator of Oleg Nikolayevich's arrival in the government. He had prestige in the circle of directors precisely as a man capable of tying everyday work in with long-term prospects. After all, we know how difficult it is proving to turn the country's economic mechanism toward the market, and how dangerous it would be here either to mount a cavalry charge or to procrastinate or, indeed, indulge in liberal phrasemongering. Oleg Soskovets' personal business and political qualities are supplemented, as it were, by his ability to find a common language with economic leaders at all levels. This will certainly facilitate the restoration of the damaged area of Moscow. The first vice premier will be helped in this by Yefim Basin, chairman of the Russian State Committee on Issues of Architecture and Construction, V. Resin, first deputy chairman of the Moscow government, and others. If Yegor Gaydar is the motor of reforms, then Oleg Soskovets is the guarantor of reliable work in the country's economic complex.

Will Soskovets be able to cope with this role?

Stankevich, Abdulatipov Interviewed on Events

LD1210101393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1633 gmt on 11 october carries a 30-minute "Echo of the week" program, presented by Igor Pototskiy, with Mark Urnov and Igor Bunin from the "Center of Political Technologies Foundation;" Sergey Stankevich, political affairs adviser to the Russian president; and Sergey Abdulatipov, chairman of the Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs. The interviews are sandwiched between clips of soldiers and crowds in the streets of Moscow and round the White House.

Pototskiy comments briefly on the past weeks' events in moscow, and how, "in their political apathy," people went about their daily business, while the White House was being stormed. Mark Urnov blames the situation on the ambitions of Khasbulatov and Rutskoy. He continues by saying that Yeltsin's popularity had been seriously on the wane and that Rutskoy failed to exploit his own growing popularity by surrendering graciously and peacefully agreeing to elections. Urnov says that once Yeltsin had made the firm decision on action, his popularity rose again.

Sergey Stankevich says that the victors are making decisions too hastily—they are as it were in a void. Instead of getting down to correcting the mistakes, they are celebrating their victory. Stankevich sees three lessons to be learned in what has happened: First, one must create a strong, united state as the only instrument in carrying out reforms, create a firm legislative basis. He goes on to praise Azerbaijan's Aliyev for the manner in which he has tackled taking over the reins of power. Second, a normal, effective state has several degrees of protection. He complains that Russia was a state in which impasses abounded. If a law was not passed, the central authorities could constantly be challenged, the regions could do what they liked, but nothing happened. Russia has no mechanism for resolving such conflicts. The third lesson is that the art of compromise must be learned, Stankevich says. He says he is convinced that failure to come to a compromise resulted in the armed confrontation. He then advocates a certain amount of strictness.

The program then features Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the former Supreme Soviet, who is now first deputy chairman of the Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs. He says that two days before the putsch, Sergey Shakhray, chairman of the aforementioned committee, who appeared to be a supporter of compromise, has now stated that he will possibly resign from this committee.

Bunin and Urnov go on to explain that voters vote for a person and not the government program, and that those surrounding the central politicians are less popular than the leaders on both sides.

Stankevich says the former conflict remains, but in a different form. He stresses the need for order in federal ties, and to stop the confrontation with the center. Questioned about Shakhray's resignation and Abdulatipov's assumption of the deputy chairman's post in the aforementioned committee, Stankevich says that these two politicians have not changed sides. He regrets that the right lessons have not yet been learned and that the basis of a fresh conflict may be being laid. Nonetheless, he says, parliament must not become the rubber stamp of the president.

The program concludes with discussion of the forthcoming elections, first with Bunin and then with Stankevich, who says that the elections must take place as scheduled because the cost of these elections has already been too high.

Cabinet Meets 8 Oct, Discusses Draft Civil Code

LD0810123293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1225 GMT 8 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—The Russian cabinet met on Friday [8 October], instead of on Thursday, as usual, after postponing its regular meeting to mark the official day of mourning for those who fell in the October rioting in Moscow.

The Friday meeting was chaired by First Vice-Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets and discussed, in accordance with the agenda, a draft civil code of the Russian Federation and some problems related to the road traffic.

Approves First Chapter of Code

LD0810154993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1444 GMT 8 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Oct—The presidium of the Russian Government today approved, in principle, the draft of the first chapter of the Civil Code. A decision was made to pass it over to the Russian president and the Commission for Legislative Proposals.

The fundamental statutes dealing with civil law that regulate economic relations based on the principle of inviolability of property, the freedom of contract, and the freedom of movement of capital and goods will be enshrined in the first chapter of the Civil Code.

Presenting the document to members of the presidium, Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray has stressed that "the new Civil Code is destined to become the core of market legislation and form the basis for establishment of market relations in Russia."

In a speech delivered at the session, Justice Minister Yuriy Kalmykov stressed that the Civil Code is "the second most important basic law of the state after the Constitution."

Chernomyrdin Comments on Meeting

LD0810223693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 93

[By N. Charnyshova, including recorded remarks by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [N. Chernyshova] I think today's session of the government can truly be called its first postwar sitting, taking into consideration the bloody events that preceded it. [passage omitted]

[Chenomyrdin] Life never stops; it goes on and there are questions which need to be dealt with. So, on the whole, there is an agreement with the president that many issues which should be regulated by introducing new laws will today be regulated by presidential decrees and, I think, by the government's decisions.

[Correspondent] The first draft of the civil code was adopted unanimously but the work on it will continue. It has been decided to include economists in the team of authors because one could say, paraphrasing a well-known saying, that a civil code is too important a document to allow lawyers to do what they like with it. [Video shows government session in progress, chaired by Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets; seated at the table are, among others, Anatoliy Chubays, Sergey Shakhray, Sergey Filatov, Boris Fedorov, Yegor Gaydar, Vladimir Shumeyko; Viktor Chernomyrdin being interviewed.]

Government Officials' 7 Oct Activities Reported

PM1110094593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[From the "Executive Branch Monitoring" feature]

[Excerpt] **Meetings, Conferences, Trips**

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets visited the Dzerzhinskiy Division yesterday, where, together with Minister of Internal Affairs Viktor Yerin, he toop part in civil funeral rites for the servicemen from the unit who died during the tragic events in Moscow. The government members expressed sympathy to the relatives and friends of those who fell, who were buried 7 October.

Government Deputy Chairman Yuriy Yarov held a sitting of the commission for the organization of funerals for those who died 3-4 October.

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets held two working conferences in the afternoon—on the financial-economic situation of the fuel and energy complex and on the structural restructuring of industry.

In the evening there was a routine sitting of the Commission for Current Questions under the chairmanship of Oleg Soskovets. First Vice Premiers Yegor Gaydar and Vladimir Shumeyko and Vice Premiers Sergey Shakhray, Anatoliy Chubays, and Yuriy Yarov took part.

Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays held a conference in the State Committee for the Management of State Property on holding check auctions. At the end of the day he met with journalists. The press conference, timed to coincide with the anniversary of the Russian Federation p.esident's edict on check investment funds, was devoted to an analysis of the activity of the League for the Promotion of Check Investment Funds.

Government Deputy Chairman Aleksandr Shokhin met with Maria Livanos Kattaui [name as transliterated], executive secretary of the World Economic Forum. Russia's possible participation in certain projects run by this influential international organization was discussed. Today Aleksandr Shokhin flies out to the FRG. The Russian organization he heads will take part in the sitting of the consultative banking committee which opens 8 October in Frankfurt-am-Main. [passage omitted]

Anticrime Chief Makarov Denies Plan To Resign

LD0810115493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Andrey Makarov, head of the interdepartmental commission for combating crime and corruption, who is undergoing treatment in the hospital, confirmed to an ITAR-TASS correspondent that he has no plans to resign. After he has recovered, the lawyer said, he will busy himself, on the president's instruction, with forming a state policy for combating crime. Combating corruption will become an important ingredient of the program which is being developed.

Andrey Makarov believes that as the Supreme Soviet has now left the political arena, obstacles to real struggle against crime and corruption have been removed. Commenting on Valentin Stepankov's dismissal as procurator general, Andrey Makarov described this decision of the president as consistent since, in his view, a person who has compromised himself cannot retain the post of procurator general.

Abdulatipov Named Nationalities Committee Head

LD0810175093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1617 GMT 8 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Oct—Ramazan Abdulatipov has been appointed first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Affairs of the Federation and Nationalities. An ITAR-TASS correspondent has been told this by a source in the apparatus of Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray. According to Shakhray, Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, this afternoon signed an instruction appointing Abdulatipov to the post.

Let us remind you, Abdulatipov had been head of the Soviet of Nationalities of the former Supreme Soviet.

Resignation of Security Minister Golushko Denied

MK0910141093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[N.G. report in the "In Brief" column: "Chekists Make Things Clear"]

[Text] On 8 October NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, citing sources close to chiefs of the Russian Security Ministry, published a report about the upcoming resignation of Russian Security Minister Nikolay Golushko and his replacement by Sergey Stepashin, currently first deputy minister. Yesterday, alternative sources, also close to chiefs of the Russian Security Ministry, refuted this information.

Possible Offer of Ambassadorial Post to Stepankov Assessed

MK1010063993 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[Kirill Varov report: "Stepankov To Be Posted as Ambassador?"]

[Text] The rapid-fire rumor about plans to put the hastily dismissed general prosecutor out of sight by posting him as ambassador seems quite logical. From the authorities' point of view, that is. Ex-Minister [Mikhail] Fedotov is departing for Paris, whereas Marshal Shaposhnikov declined to fly to Wellington. Most probably, Stepankov, too, will decline this honor should this seat be offered to him after all. His specific knowledge gives him a chance to play for high stakes here in Russia.

Uzbekov Appointed Deputy Procurator General

LD1110163293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1536 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, 11 Oct (ITAR-TASS)—The press service of the Russian president reports that President Boris Yeltsin has issued a decree appointing Vildan Uzbekov as deputy procurator general of the Russian Federation.

Krylov Reportedly Appointed Deputy Foreign Minister

LD1110195893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 11 Oct 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Excerpt] Reliable sources in the government have told Interfax that Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has appointed Sergey Krylov Deputy Russian Foreign Minister.

Krylov, 44, is a career diplomat. He worked at the Secretariat of ex-Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko and later in that of Eduard Shevardnadze. Last year he was recalled from Lisbon where he was Counsellor at the Russian Embassy and appointed executive secretary of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

So far it is unknown what will be the duties of the new deputy of Andrey Kozyrev, who recommended him for the post, will be.

Foreign ministry diplomats have told Interfax they welcome the appointment. Krylov is a competent diplomat, who knows well the activities of the Russian Foreign Ministry and Russian Embassies, said one of the diplomats. [passage omitted]

Rutskoy, Khasbulatov Supporters Gather

LD1010142593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Numerous supporters of Ruslan Khasbulatov and Aleksandr Rutskoy gathered today near the U.S. Embassy in Moscow in the immediate vicinity of the former Russian parliament building. According to correspondent Olga Gavrilova, the situation near the White House is peaceful. Those who have gathered there are mainly speaking of their impressions of the days of the bloody events on 3 and 4 October.

'Day of Mourning' Events Described

PM1110093193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed roundup of reports: "Country Bids Farewell to Fallen"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday, 7 October, was declared a day of mourning by decree of the Russian Federation president. The funerals took place in Moscow of Russian citizens who died when the attempted armed coup d'etat of 3-4 October was put down.

During the day of mourning, the Russian Federation state flag was flown at half-mast throughout the country. During the afternoon a requiem mass for those who perished in Moscow during these tragic days was celebrated in the Cathedral of the Epiphany, as well as in other Orthodox churches in the capital, with the blessing of Patriarch Aleksiy II of Moscow and all Russia.

According to information received by the city hall press center, during the attempted coup d'etat 108 people died, 553 sought medical attention of whom 437 were hospitalized, 50 received first aid, and 79 died from their wounds.

A new social organization, the Russian Fund, appealed to fellow citizens on the eve of the day of mourning not to turn the forthcoming funerals in Moscow into a new political trial but to bury the dead, irrespective of which side of the barricades they fought.

Funeral services were held in Moscow and other Russian cities for the militia personnel who died during the tragic day, which 4 October was for the country. The bodies of nine militiamen were buried, five of them Muscovites.

In accordance with tradition, the country's minister of internal affairs, members of the collegium, and representatives of the government and public organizations came to the Moscow Internal Affairs Main Administration Culture Center where a civic funeral and a requiem for the dead were held in order to take leave of their friends from the military. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed at the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs Public Relations Center that all the internal affairs organs personnel who died have been cited for high state awards. [passage omitted]

Today the funeral of "Spetsnaz" soldier Nikolay Sitnitov, who has been posthumously nominated for a high state award, is taking place in the Siberian village of Maslyanino.

Presidential Council Member on Supreme Soviet's Faults

PM0810110393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Oct 93 p 3

[Article by Georgiy Satarov, member of the presidential council: "Lip Service to the 'Defense' of Democracy, in Fact the Usurping of Power"]

[Text] At the height of perestroyka, when the foundations of a new political system in the USSR were being created on the basis of the decisions of the party conference, many minds were seized by the idea of purging and renewing socialism, of returning to the values which, it seemed to many people, were later distorted and rejected. One of the most powerful ideas was that of the total power of the soviets. As a result the Congress was constituted as the supreme organ of power. It formed an organ of legislative power—the Supreme Soviet—and appointed the supreme leaders of the other branches of power. Let us recall that the idea of the separation of powers and especially ideas of creating a system of restraints and counterweights had not yet gripped liberal minds. That applied equally to representatives of different political groups. In particular A. D. Sakharov was one of those who heard that a declaration be adopted at the first Congress proclaiming the transfer of "all power" to the Congress.

The idea of the total power of the soviets was also extremely close to the public political awareness of the period. Actually, candidates of two types took part in the elections: The first prepared themselves for defending the power of the party by every means, the second intended to struggle for power by the only possible means at that time—destroying the monopoly of party power with another monopoly power—the power of the soviets.

The Congress thus became the supreme organ of monopoly power both legally and in the thinking of the political class and the population. At the same time the Congress was conceived as a representative organ of power. Tradition linked representative power (in terms of the method of its formation) with legislative power (the function). This obviously prompted people to assign the Congress several legislative functions, in particular constitutional changes.

The Russian Congress, whose Constitution was elaborated in the same corridors, inherited all the features of the Union Congress except perhaps for the notorious elections from public organizations. The deputies elected to it thus had the same features of public political mentality.

As a result the Congress as an organ of power which had borrowed some features of previous political institutions and at the same time is trying to fulfill the alien functions of a legislative organ has fallen into a trap created by genetic features inherent in the Congress as an organ of power, the following being the most important feature.

Its multilayered nature: If you take on trust the assertion that the Congress is an organ of legislative power then the first thing that is obvious is the multilayered nature of the system in which it is included. The Congress itself regularly creates temporary working organs which manage its work. The Supreme Soviet is subordinate to the congress and is subordinate to the Presidium which it creates.

Its unicameralism: The bicameralism of a legislative organ is an essential attribute for a country which includes substate formations, for instance a federation. Only bicameralism with separate voting makes it possible to ensure the coordination of two types of interests: those of the "strata of the population" and of the substate formations. The congress provided for two types of legislative bodies corresponding to these two types of interests but failed to ensure the mechanism for coordinating them (in contrast to the Supreme Soviet).

Right now this has led to the point where there has been a drastic decline in the role of committees and commissions in preparing and adopting laws, the extraconstitutional influence of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and Supreme Soviet chairman has strengthened, and an atmosphere of connivance with the regular violations of standing orders and parliamentary ethics inside parliament was created. Nearly all parliament's decisions and all its legislative activity acquired a clear and one-sided political coloring. The overwhelming majority of decisions at plenary sessions are adopted by an overwhelming majority. The principle of factional representation is regularly violated in temporarily created Supreme Soviet organs. At the same time a large number of deputies are moving to bureaucratic posts in the Supreme Soviet, which naturally automatically transforms them from people's representatives into state employees, but no one deprives them of their deputies' powers on those grounds.

It is characteristic that the term "legislative power" has almost disappeared from the vocabulary of the opponents of the president in the Supreme Soviet and everything is done to push the term "representative power" while the ideas of the "defense of democracy" and the "defense of the representative organs of power" are extolled. Yet among the supreme organs of power in Russia right now there are only two—the Congress and the President —elected directly by the people. Neither the Supreme Soviet nor its presidium not its chairman are representative organs of power since the people did not form these organs and existing procedures for their formation are not enshrined constitutionally and not under the people's control.

All the Supreme Soviet's activity proceeds under the sign of violations of the Constitution, the laws, and the standing orders. The most widespread violation is exceeding the powers envisaged y the Constitution and the laws. This has constantly been perpetrated by the Supreme Soviet chairman at Supreme Soviet sessions and outside them, by the Supreme Soviet Presidium when it adopted decisions within the competence of the Supreme Soviet, and by the Supreme Soviet itself when it encroached on the powers of other branches of power (for instance giving assessments of "corruption" before court decisions have been made, disposing of property, and so forth) or on the powers of the Congress (for instance by failing to fulfill Congress decisions on convening the next Congress in June this year). In addition the Supreme Soviet has frequently adopted decisions which are usually the subject of constitutional regulation and is thus again exceeding its powers and encroaching on the powers of the Congress.

At the Supreme Soviet's sessions and in its current work the standing orders for conducting a session and the procedure for work in preparing and making decisions has regularly been violated. The "delegation of powers" by some deputies to others whereby one deputy votes using several cards has become common practice. This culminated in the introduction of changes to the standing orders by the Supreme Soviet 21 July according to which the quorum for opening sessions was reduced from two thirds of the official list to one half. Usually this norm is the subject of constitutional regulation.

After the referendum the Supreme Soviet adopted a number of decisions which directly contradict the results of the referendum. We can include here all the abovementioned decisions on the expulsion of the president's supporters from the Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviet Presidium, since that contradicts the result of the referendum on the first question.

But the Supreme Soviet's "economic policy" is even more flagrant, completely contradicting the results of the referendum on the second question. Suffice it to recall the series of decisions connected with the policy of privatization and the decisions on the budget.

Many Supreme Soviet decisions undertaken in the period since 25 April form part of a strategy whose watchword can be "the worse, the better." That means that many decisions are deliberately planned to aggravate the situation. That applies to the domestic political, economic, and financial spheres. Many of these decisions have already been mentioned above. Nor has the foreign policy sphere been left unheeded. I have in mind primarily the decision on the status of Sevastopol, already quashed by a UN session but outside the sphere of attention of the Supreme Court.

All these processes have led to the point where the Supreme Soviet, instead of being an organ in which public interests must be coordinated, has become a single-party body. The most important constitutional

principle—the power of the people—has thus been most crudely violated. In fact there has been a usurping of power by a clique which, if it does consider the representation of interests, reflects only the interests of an insignificant proportion of the Russian population.

But in actual fact it is a case of the desperate defense of the interests of the functionaries of Soviet power, of the struggle to preserve the soviets' monopoly power, of the struggle for survival. It is no accident that the eruption of defensive activity and the series of counterattacks and attempts to mobilize the entire soviet vertical structure came at the time after the referendum, when the threat to their existence was clearly realized.

Responses to Proposal for Dissolving Soviets Reported

MK0810135393 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 3

["Roundup" of reports on reaction by public figures to Boris Yeltsin's proposal for the self-dissolution of local soviets]

[Excerpt] The self-dissolution of local soviets proposed by Boris Yeltsin may bring about a situation where the structure of authority in the regions will for some time (until elections, if any, are held) be represented only by the executive bodies. This is an entirely new situation in Russian history. It may be described as the beginning of local government reform (or as a call for launching this reform, because the president's proposal has so far remained a proposal and has not been formalized in any documents). The KOMMERSANT-DAILY editorial board has conducted a mini-poll among its readers, asking them to express their attitude to the soviets and the structure of authority in the regions.

Sergey Stankevich, political adviser to the Russian president: "Since democracy always involves a choice, the local authorities that have challenged the president by suspending his powers, particularly his edict "On Phased Constitutional Reform," on their territory face a perfectly democratic choice: either to dissolve themselves or to wait until this is done by the president. In addition, to my mind, we should not limit ourselves to dissolving the "guilty" soviets. Comprehensive municipal reform is long overdue in Russia. That is to say, soviets, as an unviable form of organizing local government, must give way to normal municipalities. As long as the question of reorganizing local soviets has been raised, it would make sense not only to change the makeup of the soviets, but also to turn them into effective municipalities."

Ivan Aleksandrov, deputy chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet: "I oppose the self-dissolution of the soviets. We have our own constitution in the republic. Today we are holding an emergency session of the Supreme Soviet, which will decide on a legal framework for elections to the local legislature, its name, and the principles of its organization. Presently we are inclined to hold elections to the republic's parliament in the first half of 1994."

Anatoliy Grebenkin, chairman of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet: "The transformation of legislative structures of soviet power has long been overdue. When we adopted a draft constitution of the Urals Republic at our oblast session, we implanted in that document the idea of a bicameral local parliament, and we will be guided by this draft in our activity." [passage omitted]

Adviser Assesses Yeltsin Decree on Local Government

LD1110084993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0745 GMT 11 Oct

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Ivan Petrov]

[Text] Moscow, October 11 (TASS)—The Russian president's decree "On Reform of Representatives Bodies of Power and Local Government in the Russian Federation" has been published. ITAR-TASS asked Nikolay Medvedev, chief of the presidential staff's department for work with territories, to comment on the document.

Medvedev said that the decree was published for the purpose of reforming the system of power in all parts of Russia within a very brief period, before the December elections.

In accordance with clause three of the decree, a federal state commission is set up to submit, before October 15, proposals for the organisation of new bodies of representative power in territories and regions of the Russian Federation, as well as bodies of local government in cities, towns, districts and villages.

As concerns the republics within the Russian Federation, of which there are 21, under para. 6 of the decree they are recommended to decide on the reform of bodies of state authority and local government taking into account the provisions of the president's decree.

Medvedev said it was desirable for the republics to promptly promulgate legal acts in accordance with the decree. There is no need to explain the importance of uniformity of the general power structure in all subjects of the Russian Federation. But the president of Russia does not want to intervene in their competence and asks them to solve this problem as soon as possible.

Responding to a question from ITAR-TASS about para. 4 of the decree which stipulates the termination of activity of district councils of people's deputies, Nikolay Medvedev said that this provision concerned the district councils in the cities divided into districts. As concerns district councils in regions, they continue their activity

Medvedev stressed in particular the need for providing social protection to the deputies relieved of their duties. The number is considerable: Suffice it to say that about 1,500 deputies will have to look for new jobs in the

Moscow region alone. The administration of the president has advised the heads of local administration to take care of their job placements.

Commenting on another provision under para. 4 of the decree which transfers the executive and administrative functions in the territories, regions and autonomies to the administration, Nikolay Medvedev explained that the councils of this level will retain the controling and norm-setting functions. He said there was no need to explain what is meant by controling functions. As for norm-setting, he said the councils of this level are empowered to adopt regulatory enactments concerning privatisation, the pricing of land sold to private owners, etc.

Para. 5 entrusts the relevant administration bodies with the temporary exercise of the functions of the respective body of representative power after the council dissolves itself or when a council is unable to perform because of lack of quorum.

Nikolay Medvedev said that no council of people's deputies has yet decided to dissolve itself, but the lack of quorum makes impotent many soviets (councils). He pointed to the councils of people's deputies in the Tambov, Smolensk and Voronezh regions which have been unable to meet to decide on reforming the power structure. This, according to Nikolay Medvedev, can be seen as the ground for the administration to apply para. 5 of the president's decree and take over the powers of the regional councils.

Nikolay Medvedev recalled that Boris Yeltsin had sent a telegram to the leaders of the soviets (councils) of 31 subjects of the Federation, who had earlier declared invalid on their territory the president's decree 1400 of September 21, to review their decisions within three days. The term expired this Monday.

Yeltsin Adviser Comments on Dissolution of Local Soviets

LD1110114793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0944 GMT 11 Oct

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, October 11 (TASS)— The idea of self-dissolution of soviets came to Boris Yeltsin and some of his staff members "under pressure of the logic of August 1991 and the recollection of the chances which were let slip at that time", according to Presidential Council member Andranik Migranyan.

Migranyan told ITAR-TASS he had doubts about the possibility of "total de-sovietisation in the provinces". Migranyan, one of Russia's leading political scientists, pointed to a considerable difference between August 1991 and October 1993: After the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet and some local soviets which opposed the president, Boris Yeltsin faces the opportunity of "making the political process manageable without cataclysms".

Speaking about his own ideas about the sequence of moves after the suppression of the mutiny, the Presidential Council member called for a gradual de-sovietisation. He said it would be justifiable to introduce presidential rule for the beginning in the regions where the soviets (councils) supported the leaders of the dissolved Supreme Soviet and remained persistent in their delusion. As concerns other territories and regions, it is advisable to introduce provisional procedures for the functioning of the local soviets, he said.

In keeping with this logic, the Federal Assembly will then adopt a law on regional parliaments and call elections for them.

Elections to the regional bodies of representative power are hardly possible before a law is promulgated on the status of local parliaments and the powers of their deputies, Migranyan believes.

As concerns the formation of the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly, Migranyan noted that the incorporation of the heads of the administration and the leaders of regional soviets (councils) minus the heads of self-dissolved regional parliaments would "comply with the idea of the manageable democracy for the transitional period, prior to the adoption of a new constitution and new election".

The president's decision to increase the number of seats in the lower chamber of the Federal Assembly to 450, with half of the seats provided for representatives of political parties, should be seen as the desire to create a chamber which would back the president.

Since there will be no extremist communist and nationalist organisations represented, there is a hope that democratically-minded deputies, organisations and blocs will be represented in the State Duma, elected on party tickets.

Migranyan does not rule out the possibility that some time later, the State Duma may turn into a corporation or a party which will oppose the executive and the president again. This is why a bicameral parliament with one house under reliable control is seen by Migranyan as the best way out aimed at stabilizing society during the transition to the adoption of a new constitution.

The next few weeks will make clear whether the idea of the dissolution of all soviets (councils) is workable, Migranyan said. Should resistance arise to this move in the regions and the republics, the president would do good by giving up externally effective decisions fraught with new upheavals in society, he said.

As a member of the Presidential Council, Migranyan warned Boris Yeltsin against "attempts at cutting off all the heads of the multi-headed soviet hydra with one revolutionary strike".

Warns Against 'Sweeping Desovietization'

MK1210085293 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Article by Andranik Migranyan, member of the Presidential Council, in the "Opinion" column: "Phased Desovietization. Political Transformations Can Be Continued Without Upheavals"—"from ITAR-TASS specially for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA"]

[Text] In my opinion, the idea of Boris Yeltsin and part of the president's apparatus about the self-dissolution of the soviets was born under the pressure of the logic of August 1991 and recollections about the opportunities missed at that time. Yet there is an enormous difference between August 1991 and October 1993: Now, with the absence of the Supreme Soviet and the disbandment of certain soviets that stood in opposition to the president, an opportunity is opening before Boris Yeltsin to make the political process controllable without upheavals. This is a more manageable and less painful task than sweeping desovietization.

At the same time, I have my own opinion on the sequence of moves with respect to the soviets' activity after the suppression of the revolt. I would propose a step by step system of desovietization. At its first stage, in those regions where the soviets actually supported the leadership of the abolished Supreme Soviet and are persisting in their position, it would be warranted to introduce a system of presidential rule. For the other krays and oblasts it would be expedient to establish a provisional regime for the functioning of the soviets, close to the one outlined in the president's edict of 3 October this year "On Reforming Representative Power Bodies and Local Self-Government Bodies in the Russian Federation." Then the Federal Assembly passes a law on regional parliaments and calls elections to them.

The holding of elections to regional bodies of representative power without adopting a law on the status of local parliaments and the powers of their deputies appears, in my view, fairly problematic.

As for the formation of the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly, the inclusion into it of heads of administrations and leaders of regional soviets minus the heads of the regional parliaments which have dissolved themselves would correspond to the idea of guided democracy during the transitional period pending the adoption of a new constitution and the calling of new elections. The president, however, having announced elections to this chamber, has deemed it acceptable here, too, to use a radical scenario.

The president's decision to enlarge the composition of the lower chamber of the Federal Assembly (the State Duma) to 450 members and to reserve half the seats in it for party representatives can be regarded as an attempt to create a chamber that will support the president's policy. In the absence of extremist communist and nationalist organizations, there is hope that democratically-minded deputies, organizations, and blocs will get into the State Duma on party tickets.

At the same time, I would not rule out the possibility that over a certain time period, in the absence of real parties and party discipline, the State Duma will turn into a kind of corporation that would set itself against the executive branch and the president. This is why a bicameral parliament with one reliably controlled chamber is the best possible solution for stabilizing societal life during the transition period pending the adoption of a new constitution.

The next few weeks will show how feasible the idea of the simultaneous dissolution of the soviets is. If "vendees" emerge at the regional level and if this solution to the problem arouses counter actions in the oblasts and republics, then it is sensible for the president to abandon decisions that are externally effective but fraught with new upheavals.

Proceeding from this, I should like to warn Boris Yeltsin against attempts to immediately cut off the heads of the many-headed Soviet Hydra by revolutionary methods.

Yeltsin's Actions on Local Government Viewed

MK1210093293 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Ivan Rodin report under the "Center " rubric and general headline: "President Wants To Solve All Problems in One Fell Swoop. Soviets Are Being Dissolved Virtually Everywhere. Elections for the Upper Chamber of the Federal Assembly Have Also Been Called. A Referendum on the Constitution, and Even Elections for Some Municipal Organs May Take Place on 11-12 December"]

[Text] The president has learned from the 1991 experience and is therefore confidently building on his success by issuing one fundamental edict after another. One of them is undoubtedly the document signed last Saturday, "On Reforming the Representative Organs of Power and Organs of Local Government in the Russian Federation."

The main import of this edict is apparently not that Boris Yeltsin is dealing yet another blow at the soviet system whose organs almost universally condemned his September actions, but that, perhaps, the first step has been taken at long last to reform a federation unprecedented anywhere in the world—the Russian Federation. One can suppose that the objective direction of this reform is to create something like a "Russian Republic," although the above edict does not imply this at all.

The edict, however, formally violates the Federation Treaty only in regard to the krays, oblasts, autonomous regions, and both capitals—the soviets will be transformed in these components of the Russian Federation, whereas this reform is only being recommended to the

republics. Thus the real position—unlike the rather hyped position promoted in the past by the Supreme Soviet—of the "Russian components of the Russian Federation" (there is every reason to list among them the autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs, which Mr. Yeltsin actually does) is becoming increasingly clear as is, in fact, the price of independence the krays and oblasts that once signed the Federation Treaty have to pay. It is evident that, despite the rather lenient formulas of the edict's provisions, the soviets' norm-making functions given to them will be exercised under the control of the corresponding administrations, or not exercised at all on the basis of point five of the edict—for the formal reason, of course, that "the soviets cannot exercise their powers without the necessary quorum." When new representative organs of 15-50 persons each are finally formed, the overwhelming part of Russia will obviously switch to a system of organization of state power based on the principle of "strong governors and mayors."

The next logical step should be an administrative-territorial redrawing of the Russian part of Russia, meaning the creation of the capital of a "Russian Republic" and of guberniyas [provinces] rather heavily dependent on its center. Thus, today's Russian Federation will be replaced by a union of 22 republics under the leadership of a union president. He will probably want to simultaneously head also the biggest part of his state—the "Russian Republic." The future of national republics in such a union is not enviable: they will be rather strongly dependent on the wishes of their "big brother." Their ability to resist this scenario, however, does not seem too great—Mr. Yeltsin is getting in gear and soon, after taking control over the greater part of the Russian Federation, he will successfully be able to neutralize them.

Should the reform of the Russian Federation really follow the above direction, the upper chamber of its future parliament could in no way consist of the heads of representative and executive authorities of the now existing components of the Russian Federation. The small assemblies, dumas, etc., permitted by the president's edict to approve local budgets and collect taxes and duties, will hardly send their representatives to the upper chamber.

President Yeltsin did as much. By his edict yesterday, he set elections for the Federation Council—the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly—for 12 December. Each component of the Russian Federation will elect two deputies. Thus, the Russian part of Russia will get an undoubted majority. Who this majority will take cues from can be guessed in advance—the elections are being organized by local administrations whose heads are obliged to be loyal to Boris Yeltsin owing to their official status. It is more than likely that they would also have feelings of affinity toward pro-Yeltsin candidates.

Yeltsin Names Podoprigora Federal Assembly Chief of Staff

LD0810123393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1107 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, October 8 (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin appointed Vladimir Podoprigora chief of staff of the Federal Assembly, the new-style Russian legislature to be elected on December 12, 1993.

Podoprigora is currently in charge of job placements of the former deputies of the Russian Supreme Soviet (parliament) dissolved by Yeltsin's decree of September 21, the decree which also led to armed confrontation between the two branches of power on October 3- 4.

The presidential press office reported that Yeltsin's latest decree says there will be 537 staffers in the assembly apparat.

Before the new legislature meets for its first session after the December elections, the apparat will take care of the meetings of the Federation Council, the commission for legislative proposals and the Russian part of the interparliamentary assembly of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Further on Appointment

MK0910125593 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

[Nika Stark report: "Edict on Federal Assembly Staff. Ex-Deputy To Head New Parliament's Staff"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin is taking steps to provide the would-be Russian parliament with everything it needs. Although there are still more than two months to go before official elections to the Federal Assembly, the president signed an edict yesterday on creating the assembly's staff. On the one hand, this decision may have been designed to show the president's resolve not to put off the formation of a new legislature, and on the other—to assure former Supreme Soviet apparatchiks and people's deputies who were swift to display their loyalty to the president of their safe future. Vladimir Podoprigora was appointed chief of the Federal Assembly's staff.

Vladimir Podoprigora, age 37, was a Russian people's deputy and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Interrepublican Relations, Regional Policy, and Cooperation until 21 September 1993. While in parliament, he was considered a moderate proponent of presidential policy. Last February, it was planned to appoint him as Sergey Filatov's deputy, but at that time Podoprigora did not agree to go over to the presidential administration. On 21 September he unequivocally accepted the presidential edict "On Phased Constitutional Reform in Russia."

According to Georgiy Zadonskiy, chief of the administration for the employment of former people's deputies

at the Russian Labor Ministry, a staff of 537 people established by the edict (this number is approximately half the staff of the abolished Supreme Soviet) is only a tentative figure. It is quite likely that later the staff will be increased. All the more so because according to unofficial reports, it will include many former employees of the Russian Supreme Soviet's staff and some people's deputies who did not oppose the president's decision to dissolve the parliament.

[Article includes the following boxed passage]

Some provisions from the edict on creating the staff of the Russian Federal Assembly

—Vladimir Nikolayevich Podoprigora shall be appointed chief of staff of the Russian Federal Assembly.

—The staff of the Federal Assembly shall include 537 regular jobs. Before the assembly starts its work, its staff shall provide support for Federal Assembly sessions, the activity of the presidential Commission for Legislative Initiatives, and the Russian branch of the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly.

Podoprigora Comments on Tasks

LD1110222493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1718 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] The main task faced by the Federal Assembly (FA) administration is to work out structures for this new parliamentary institution, Interfax has been told by the chief of the FA administration Vladimir Podoprigora. He also said that the administration is to provide the necessary conditions for the meetings of the future Federal Assembly, the activities of the commissions on legislative proposals at the Russian President and the Russian part of the CIS Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (IPA).

Podoprigora says that it is not decided where the future Federal Assembly will have its residence. There are proposals to house it in the Government building in Staraya Square, in the Soviet Parliament building in the Kremlin and other venues.

Podoprigora said that the speaker of the Kazakh parliament had initiated the IPA Council meeting to be held on October 30, which was backed by the speaker of the Kyrgyz parliament. However, said Podoprigora, the FA administration asked the IPA Secretariat to come in contact with all its members and propose that they postpone the Council meeting before late December when the Federal Assembly is elected in Russia.

He said that at its next meeting the IPA is to elect its new chairman. According to the rules, he is elected for one year. Podoprigora has said that the powers of Ruslan Khasbulatov the first chairman of the IPA Council, expired September 16.

Constitutional Referendum, Elections Viewed

LD1110213793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1826 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—The main task of democrats now is not to disperse their forces before the elections and to agree to nominate one candidate from each of the democratic organizations in one-mandate districts. This was stated by Igor Kharichev, a member of the Public Committee of Democratic Organizations of Russia, a worker at the Russian president's secretariat, at a meeting on Monday [11 October].

By the president's decision the elections to the State Duma and the Council of the Federation will be held on December 12. According to Igor Kharichev, it is possible to conduct a referendum on a draft constitution simultaneously with the elections.

The preparatory work on a new constitution will be intensified, he said. At the first plenary meeting of the Constitutional Assembly scheduled for October 16-17, a working group will be set up which apparently will be headed by former Russian people's deputy Boris Zolotukhin. This group will finalize the work on the draft constitution, and at the second plenary meeting planned for October 30-31, it is envisaged to hand over the draft constitution to the president. "It is not ruled out that if the draft constitution is well elaborated it might be submitted to a referendum which will be held simultaneously with the elections. This version is now being considered," Igor Kharichev pointed out.

Igor Kharichev suggested that the Public Committee of Democratic Organizations of Russia should set up a working group for the preparation of the elections which together with the bloc "Russia's Choice" should agree to nominating the same candidates from democratic organizations in one-mandate districts. "If we do not do this, unpleasant surprises might expect us," Igor Kharichev noted.

Democratic Parties Favor Referendum on New Constitution

LD1210075893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0749 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow October 12 ITAR-TASS—The Public Committee of Democratic Organizations of Russia, which brings together tens of democratically-minded parties announced in a statement issued today that it favours a referendum on a new Russian constitution.

The committee appealed to the Russian president to set the date for a referendum on the draft constitution for December 12, simultaneously with the elections to the new Russian legislature.

It was earlier decided to hold elections on December 12 for the state duma (the lower chamber of the new bicameral parliament called the federal assembly) and its upper house, the federat n council.

Acting Head of Cons tutional Court Cited on Ban

LD0810171693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1445 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Today Nikolay Vitruk, acting chairman of the Russ n Federation Constitutional Court, had a meeting with Russian and foreign correspondents. Here on the telephone from the Constitutional Court is our correspondent Olga Yermakova, who has the details:

[Yermakova] I will begin by saying that Yuriy Rudkin, the secretary of the court, and Tamara Morshchakova, a judge, also took part in the news conference. It was devoted to the president's decree on the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation of 7 October 1993. This decrée gives an assessment of the activity of the Constitutional Court, the main point of which is that the Constitutional Court has turned from a body of justice into a body of political struggle.

I am now in the office of Nikolay Vasiliyevich Vitruk, acting chairman of the Constitutional Court, and I am going to ask him to comment briefly on this decree. You said that it is painful but truthful. Nikolay Vasiliyevich, what are the main elements of this decree?

[Vitruk] The president's decree on the Constitutional Court means basically that the Constitutional Court will not examine at present the cases that it was previously examining in accordance with the law on the Constitutional Court. That is, it is effectively ceasing to exist as a body of justice. This is because the Constitutional Court has really turned into a body of political struggle, and because it now has a reduced staff, and with this reduced staff it is unable to carry out the business of justice properly. And the Constitutional Court will not be able to carry out its legal duties as a body of justice until a new Constitution is adopted, and the Federal Assembly begins work.

But the Constitutional Court is being preserved as a panel of judges and as an apparatus, and the president of the Russian Federation has given specific instructions to both the panel of judges and the Constitutional Court apparatus to work out proposals on organizational and legal forms for the implementation of constitutional justice. This even includes the possibility of setting up a constitutional board [konstitutsionnaya kollegiya] within the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation.

The president is also ordering that all necessary materials be prepared for cases being dealt with by the Constitutional Court for their future and subsequent examination.

Thus the president of the Russian Federation has not eliminated the Constitutional Court. On the contrary, he has confirmed the need for constitutional justice as an institution of democracy. And this democratic institution will function fully when a new constitution is adopted and when the Federal Assembly starts work.

Constitutional Court Chairman Remains Ill

LD1110140293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1158 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] According to sources in the Constitutional Court, ex-chairman of the Court Valeriy Zorkin is still ill and is at home. Following a severe bout of hypertension last Wednesday [6 October] his condition has slightly improved, and his personal physician says that Zorkin will fully recover within a couple of months.

Zorkin remains a judge on the Constitutional Court and has not been deprived of his judicial powers as a result of his illness. However, this is currently not a questionable issue since the president suspended the Constitutional Court on October 7.

Constitutional Court Dissolution Assessed

PM1110134593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 3

[Article by Leonid Nikitinskiy: "Is President Saving Constitutional Judges?"]

[Text] Hot after the event it is hard to determine immediately what kind of punctuation mark the president has placed by his 7 October edict in the history of the first and perhaps the last Constitutional Court in Russia.

The answer to this question will only be provided by the further development of events and meanwhile let us try to analyze the text of the edict and let us begin with its second part, which contains conclusions. The president "noted" the "impossibility of the Constitutional Court's activity when it is not at full strength" (he has in mind the refusal of a number of judges to take part in sessions) and decreed that "its sessions should not be convened until the adoption of a new Russian Federation Constitution," at the same time retaining their present rights and guarantees for the judges. For the time being, on the threshold of the Federal Assembly, the Constitutional Court judges will, according to the president's edict, engage in preparing proposals for the future new legislative organ as regards the new Constitution and the place occupied in Russia's new state structure by "constitutional jurisprudence" which, as is clear from the president's edict, could be exercised in future in some forms which are different from the present one, in particular through the creation of a constitutional collegium within the Supreme Court.

As a whole in terms of its purport this part of the president's edict can hardly give rise to objections unless you consider the somewhat excessively menacing tone of individual formulations. Moreover, the president has

shouldered the burden of the decision which the judges lacked the courage to make for themselves but which stemmed from the historically shaped circumstances. Until the convening and first decisions of the new legislative organ the president's edict puts the constitutional judges in quite an advantageous position, helping them to keep face. In that sense Yeltsin, who has been abrupt in his recent actions, does not so much kill off as save the Constitutional Court.

Now let us nonetheless turn to the first part of the edict, to the preamble, and read it: "The Constitutional Court from being an organ of constitutional jurisprudence has become a tool of political struggle presenting an exceptional danger to the state."

And it is not that we disagreed with these remarks in their essence, we ourselves in our newspaper assess well known facts in a similar way, although we try to do it in a more restrained tone. But journalists, scientists, and foreign observers can allow themselves to give such assessment, but the president himself, as an interested party, cannot do so, since he thus violates an ancient and universally recognized legal principle: "No one can be the judge in their own case."

In general Boris Yeltsin should behave more correctly with the Constitutional Court. If the president's dissolution of parliament to overcome the constitutional crisis is seen in countries with a stable democracy as an absolutely normal decision and many people there cannot understand why we are breaking a lance over it, any actions connected with the court's dissolution are assessed, and rightly, as a completely different degree of encroachment on democracy and human rights.

Communist Party Leader Holds News Conference

LD0810170893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1450 GMT 8 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Oct—The Communist Party of the Russian Federation is not afraid of being banned, but does not believe that the authorities will actually go as far as this. Voicing this opinion at a crowded news conference today, Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the central executive committee of the Communist Party, said that the authorities need "to give the elections a semblance of legitimacy."

The leader of the Communist Party, which has not been banned but which falls into the category of likely candidates for banning, believes that "the regime needs to have an opposition, even if it is a Communist Party, to be able to blame it later for anything which goes wrong." Gennadiy Zyuganov said that if the party were in fact to be banned, there would still be other opportunities for political activity, notably through the coordinating council of the National Patriotic Forces, which he chairs, and the Russian National Assembly, of which he is also a leader.

The chairman of the central executive committee disclosed that the committee's upcoming plenum would make a final decision on whether the Communist Party should take part in the elections. However, most regional organizations are in favor of such participation. He said that the party has over 600,000 members. As many as 10 million Russian citizens might vote for the Communist Party. He said that the party's allies include people "who have been plundered and humiliated, people involved in pure science, culture, and education," as well as agrarian parties and many creative organizations.

Asked about the party's finances, he said that the Moscow account has been temporarily frozen by the city authorities. "But I think that it will be unfrozen shortly," he added.

Speaking about his attitude to the bloody events in Moscow, Gennadiy Zyuganov expressed the view that it was "impossible for the White House defenders to move away from the building." He believes that "given another 5-7 hours, there would have been time for the members of the federation to assemble, and they would have forced the authorities to negotiate."

Asked to comment on Rutskoy's calls for the storming of the Ostankino complex, Gennadiy Zyuganov said: "It was our overriding, paramount duty to support the supreme legislature."

Asked what he thought had happened to fellow members of the National Salvation Front, the leader of the Communist Party disclosed that there were "many casualties, but they are all alive, as far as I know," adding that his information is still incomplete.

Democratic Russia Leader on Moscow 'Tragedy'

PM1210094193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

[Interview with Lev Ponomarev, cochairman of the Council of Representatives of the Democratic Russia movement, conducted by correspondent Robert Minasov under the "Interview with a Politician" rubric; place and date not given: "No Need for Applause"]

[Text] [Minasov] Lev Aleksandrovich, on 13 September the political bloc Democratic Choice, of which Democratic Russia is a component, sent an open letter to President Yeltsin. The letter expressed concern in connection with the extreme exacerbation of political confrontation among the branches of power and contained a demand for the immediate convening of the Constitutional Conference to adopt an interim constitutional act on early elections. In some organs of the mass media the letter was presented as nothing less than an undisguised form of pressure on the president designed to prompt

him to take resolute unconstitutional actions. Did the letter perhaps actually have that effect on the president?

[Ponomarev] Many parties and associations belonging to the very large political bloc known as the Public Committee of Democratic Organizations addressed such demands to the president. But I should stress that the letter was not about suspending the activity of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, let alone dissolving them. We did not seek to prompt the president to take extreme steps but demanded that the Constitutional Conference be held so that it could adopt a decision on early new elections for a parliament that was now ineffective. If the Constitutional Conference had taken place in August, as the president himself said, and had adopted a decision on early elections, this would have given them a legitimate character.

The Constitutional Conference is, of course, a consultative-deliberative body, but it does represent a significant cross section of our society in the shape of the representatives of the bulk of the political parties and movements, trade unions, and corporate structures.

[Minasov] If the Constitutional Conference had taken place and made the decisions about which you speak, could the tragedy have been averted?

[Ponomarev] I would not venture to claim that, but a legal basis, albeit a quasi-legal one, would at least have been prepared. The collection of signatures from Russians demanding the holding of early elections would probably have been the next step.

It is necessary therefore to talk about the errors of certain representatives on the presidential side who actively impeded the convocation of the Constitutional Conference. I am sure that it would have adopted a constitutional act on elections and undoubtedly postponed the examination of contentious statutes and norms of the new draft constitution that had been discussed.

[Minasov] Was the president's 21 September edict a surprise to you?

[Ponomarev] In general, yes, although I could not get rid of the feeling that something like it might happen—the president had, after all, warned about imminent events in September.

[Minasov] I would like you, Lev Aleksandrovich, to dwell on the most important actions taken by Democratic Russia and Democratic Choice immediately after the 21 October edict.

[Ponomarev] Democratic Russia supported the president's actions without a moment's hesitation. That we had our own action plan, which differed in many regards from the provisions of the edict, is unimportant. The situation had reached its logical development. The president found himself in circumstances where resolute, tough action was the only way out.

You will know that Democratic Russia initiated the holding of a rally in Moscow on 26 September. We held it. Our aim was to demonstrate that the majority of Muscovites sided with the president and not at all with the Anpilovs, communists, and National Salvation front supporters who condemned and insulted the president, his entourage, and the government.

It also has to be said that it is highly dangerous to hold rallies, processions, and demonstrations by two opposing tendencies at the same time. And clearly therefore the decision to hold a rally on 26 September was made not without resistance from both within Democratic Russia itself and the government circles of Russia and Moscow. However, the movement's Council of Representatives insisted, and we assembled—according to various estimates—between 30,000 to 70,000 people, athough our appeal was not broadcast on television. On the other hand, television did provide highly detailed coverage of the action by supporters of Working Moscow, the Russian Communist Workers Party [RCWP], and the National Salvation Front [NSF].

The rally gave rise to the idea of holding a demonstration on 3 October. We were sure of gathering at least 100,000 people. But again there followed exhortations that we should refrain. Again they showered down on us from the government structures. The arguments were of course reasonable, namely, not letting the opposing side provoke a head-on clash.

I think that if we had held a grand, well-organized rally on 3 October, the situation would have developed according to a different scenario. The communists and supporters of Working Moscow and the NSF would not have behaved so brazenly and aggressively. They might not have had recourse to arms and violence or dared to storm City Hall and Ostankino.

[Minasov] How did Democratic Russia act after the situation blew up on 3 October?

[Ponomarev] We sought to make clear to Muscovites by every available means that the White House must not be allowed to remain a bastion of mutinous, quasi-fascist forces. At the same time we sought the opportunity to reduce casualties to a minimum. You will have noticed that I have not once used the term "victory." This was a tragedy, and it began with the first shot fired by the supporters of Khasbulatov and his stooges.

[Minasov] How do you regard the authorities' and the law-enforcement agencies' delayed reaction to the circumstances which arose in connection with the mutineers' storming of Moscow City Hall and Ostankino?

[Ponomarev] I have no explanations... If I were a member of the government I would say, as Gaydar has: We are guilty. I think that Yegor Gaydar has taken the blame for others. From my standpoint, there was criminal neglect. Many casualties could have been avoided at Ostankino. Alas...

[Minasov] They allowed City Hall to be torn apart without opposition and left the handful of heroic defenders there to the mercy of fate, while on 4 October history repeated itself at the MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS building... Strange events...

[Minasov] As early as the morning of 3 October it was clear that events were becoming dramatic in nature and that the armed confrontation would come to a head on 4 October. And yet...

[Ponomarev] Yes, it was obvious that it was proving a tough decision for the president to make. But, you know, it was not part of the president's duties to check that armored personnel carriers were ready to defend Ostankino and were parked in the courtyard of the complex. What happened is not at all clear and requires careful investigation.

[Minasov] What was your final action on 4 October? What were you prepared for?

[Ponomarev] We are sure that the Moscow City Soviet rally substantially altered the outcome of the struggle. It had to be made clear to the law-enforcement agencies that the Muscovites who suuported the president had the situation in hand. The members of the Special-Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] had to be made aware that the bulk of the capital's population supported their actions.

And inconsistencies did emerge in the organization of the rally. Democratic Russia came out with the initiative, which was reported by Ekho Moskvy radio. People had already begun gathering on St. Basil's Hill and on the square by the Dolgorukiy monument when Yuriy Luzhkov ups and urges Muscovites not to show themselves. Thanks also to Yegor Timurovich Gaydar! His radio and television appeal was heeded. At that time the Army was not yet protecting the Moscow City Soviet and doubts indeed remained as to whether it would come at all.

It is deplorable that three Democratic Russia defenders at one of the pickets were shot dead by gangsters.

[Minasov] How do you regard the decision to ban certain parties and movements which participated in the bloody mutiny?

[Ponomarev] Was it really necessary to wait for evidence that they have no right to exist? The opposition should not urge violence, as the RCWP, the NSF, the Officers' Union, and others did. The opposition has no right to propagate chauvinism and racism. We may have a bad constitution, but universally recognized international legal norms forbidding such actions do exist, after all.

[Minasov] Tell me, do you feel a sense of reassurance?

[Ponomarev] No, I fear that a time of terrorist acts and sabotage on the part of die-hard mutineers and destructive forces is coming. Let us be on our guard.

'Choice of Russia' To Hold Constituent Congress

LD1110212793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1718 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] The constituent congress of the electoral bloc Choice of Russia will take place in Moscow (the Central House of Film-Makers, Vasiliyevskaya st, 13) on October 16-17. Among the congress' participants there are delegates of the bloc's regional branches, representatives of the president's administration, members of the government and the president's local representatives.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin has also been invited to the congress.

The statement on establishment of the bloc "manifesting the interests of all those who have supported the reformist course of President Boris Yeltsin at the referendum on April 25" was announced on June 11.

Among those who signed the statement are: leader of the Russian president's administration Sergey Filatov; members of the government Vladimir Shumeyko, Boris Fedorov, Andrey Kozyrev, Anatoliy Chubays, Ella Pamfilova, Yegor Gaydar; member of the Presidential Council Petr Filippov; presidential aide Dmitriy Volkogonov; Mikhail Poltoranin, Aleksandr Yakovlev, Sergey Kovalev, Andrey Makarov and Gary Kasparov.

Among the organizations that signed the statement are: the movement Democratic Russia; the Russian Association of Privatized and Private Enterprises; the "Human Ring" Union of Defenders of Free Russia; the movement Servicemen for Democracy; and the Association of Farmers' Holdings and Agricultural Cooperative Societies.

Cossack Assembly Ends, Pledges 'Noninterference' in Politics

LD1010190393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Report by correspondent Ye. Avinova from Orenburg, including recorded remarks by Russian Union of Cossacks leader Aleksandr Martynov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Third Grand Assembly [Krug] of the Union of Cossacks of Russia ended in Orenburg today. It noted a marked expansion of the ranks of Cossacks, and also an incipient transition from a status of a public organization to that of a state institution. Those present believe that Cossacks can and must serve in the Armed Forces; in exchange for this, the state is going to grant them tax benefits and land for communal use.

A decision has been taken to ensure strict subordination in the lines of command in Cossack formations. Resolute opposition has been declared to any signs of anarchy and splits in the Cossack ranks.

The assembly has adopted on the whole the draft Unified Regulations for Cossacks and a draft state program for socioeconomic and cultural revival of Cossacks.

Aleksandr Gavrilovich Martynov has been reelected Ataman of the Union of Cossacks [Martynov was accused of siding with Rutskoy after Yeltsin's decree dissolving the Supreme Soviet]

[Martynov] The Union of Cossacks takes a stand of 'noninterference' in political matters.

FITUR Chairman Resigns Under Pressure

MK0910140193 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 4

[Yevgeniy Yanayev report: "FITUR Leader Replaced. Trade Union Leader Replaced in Government as Insisted by Government"]

[Text] Yesterday, the presidium of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FITUR] granted Igor Klochkov's request to resign as chairman. During the September-October crisis, leaders of the federation called upon the working people to protect the constitution and parliament by employing all possible means, "including strike action." Vasiliy Romanov was asked to act as chairman of the trade union federation.

Right after Boris Yeltsin's edict No. 1400 of 21 September came out, leaders of FITUR (which unites more than 18 million people) came out with a statement condemning the president's step and called upon the working people to protect the constitutional system. This tough stance by the trade union leaders drew immediate retaliatory actions from the executive branch: The phones in the FITUR building were switched off.

The trade unions proved "smart" enough, and a plenum of the federation of trade unions on 23 September passed a "softer" statement which in fact reversed the original strike call. Even after the federation made this decision, however, its chairman, Igor Klochkov, continued to press for the adoption of the "zero option" proposed by former Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin that called for the simultaneous withdrawal of Boris Yeltsin's edict and all decrees passed by the congress in its wake. Mr. Klochkov only pledged his support for the president's actions the morning of 4 October when tanks were already pounding the parliament building.

According to information from government circles, Russian Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko demanded Klochkov's immediate resignation. Having accepted Klochkov's resignation, the federation's presidium asked Klochkov's former deputy, Vasiliy Romanov, to temporarily perform the duties of chairman.

Muscovites Polled on Clashes

LD0910113093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2135 GMT 8 Oct 93

[From the "Politburo Studio" program]

[Text] Over the past week, Politburo's sociological service invited Muscovites to say what they thought of the events on 3 and 4 October. Around 70 percent of those questioned completely approved of the measures used by the president and government; 23 percent support neither the president nor the parliament; and only 4.5 percent of Muscovites expressed support for the actions by Rutskoy and Khasbulatov.

Of those questioned, 20.7 percent said they would participate in possible armed clashes in the future, a majority of those were servicemen and employees of the law enforcement bodies. They will not remain indifferent because it is their duty; 61 percent of those questioned would not participate in any conflicts; 18 percent of Muscovites found it difficult to give an answer.

To the question: What measures ought to be taken against the participants of the armed mutiny? Only eight percent answered that no measures were needed at all. In their opinion, Rutskoy and Khasbulatov were simply carrying out their duty. Seventy-one percent of those questioned believe, on the other hand, that the organizers of the unrest should bear criminal responsibility; 18 percent did not give a reply.

However, with respect to Boris Yeltsin's latest steps, opinion was divided: 40 percent of those questioned approved of the president's instruction on prohibiting publications and public organizations which had supported the parliament, and 38 percent condemned this step.

There is still a long way to go before there is civil peace in Russia.

Centrists Said Ready To Change Views

PM0810153593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Andrey Zhukov report: "Centrism in Its True Light"]

[Text] It is noteworthy that, after President Yeltsin's famous Edict On the Dissolution of the Supreme Soviet, the Russian centrists came out with some pretty resolute statements. For example, the Moscow regional section of the People's Party-Free Russia stated that "today the president has embarked on a course of breaking the law..." etc. But after the events of 3-4 October in Moscow the party's position changed radically. For example, a statement by the self-same Moscow People's Party-Free Russia regional organization made an "absolute condemnation of the actions of the White House leaders, who were at the beck and call of the leaders of 'Working Moscow' and other fascist elements and who

unleashed the bloody events on 3 October 1993. Under these circumstances, we support the government in its restoration of order in the city." The People's Party-Free Russia immediately distanced itself from its former leader Aleksandr Rutskoy: "In absolutely condemning A. Rutskoy's actions, we emphasize the fact that we continue to be a party of the parliamentary type." You unfortunately have to admit that this readiness to change its political outlook to a diametrically opposed one in the space of only a few hours is a feature which is very characteristic of Russian centrism.

At 1600 4 October, at the very time when the storming of the Supreme Soviet building was in progress, the executive committee representing all of Civic Union met. The executive committee members voted unanimously in favor of the following statement: "Having started out by defending the constitutional system, the Supreme Soviet and its followers have crossed the dividing line between political struggle and crime. While understanding the necessity of using force to put a stop to the terror in Moscow, we today consider that the most important task is to end the bloodshed..." Moreover, "we are concerned that the means used to establish order and to fight the illegal military formations were disproportionate."

The Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FITUR] Council Executive Committee adopted a similar standpoint when it had earlier not just been critical on several occasions but had literally condemned particular actions by President Yeltsin. FITUR's 4 October 1993 statement emphasizes that the Federation of Trade Unions "considers the armed extremist groupings' actions in Moscow to be criminal... The FITUR Council Executive Committee appeals to labor collectives in these difficult hours to remain calm and not give into the extremists' appeals. Law and order must be restored in the capital." All this bore the decisive signature of FITUR Chairman I.Ye. Klochkov and other members of the FITUR Council Executive Committee. But you cannot help asking the question: Is this the FITUR leadership's final stance? Will not the FITUR leadership want to call on the sectors' labor collectives to strike in a few months' time, making economic if not political demands?

Commentary Views Uprising, Responsibility for Events

LD0910095093 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Announcer-read commentary by Viktor Yenikeyev]

[Text] The fascist-communist uprising in Moscow has been put down. Steps are being taken to normalize the situation in the capital and the country as a whole. Already, however, the question of the moment is: Is Russia under threat of dictatorship by Yeltsin? The question is being asked by local and international journalists as well as politologists and state leaders. Viktor Yenikeyev [not further identified] has written his interpretation of the situation:

The president has decreed a state of emergency and imposed a curfew. Many newspapers with a communist sympathy who aggravated the standoff in the country by calling for the toppling of the existing government have been shut down. For one day there was official censorship, but that was later withdrawn. The Constitutional Court, which became more and more tied to the national Bolshevik party of Khasbulatov and Rutskoy, (?thus) lost its independence and has been suspended.

Finally, Boris Yeltsin offered parliament, composed of hardline communists dedicated to the ideas of Marx and Lenin, the opportunity to self-dissolve, in order to save face. At the same time, elections into the Federal Council are slated for December. There will also be a parallel election for parliament.

In general, these facts as a rule have been looked at as constituting grounds for possible imposition of a one-man dictatorship in Russia. It could be understood if such conclusion is drawn by the supporters of Khasbulatov or Rutskoy, one of the leaders of the party of the National Salvation Front, (Tsyganov), or national Bolshevik sympathizers. However, it is surprising when local democratic journalists and their foreign colleagues reach the selfsame conclusion. Yes, the sight of the burning White House and the menacing figures of tanks, which opened fire on the White House, are terrifying and ugly. All the more so, it was shameful and tragic in peacetime and in the middle of a phantom summer that so many people should suffer.

But who is to blame? Is Yeltsin, who, till the last moment, refused the use of force, or Grachev, whose army took hours instead of minutes to reach Moscow? If Yeltsin is guilty of anything it's that he refused to act decisively after the events of the August, 1991, putsch, or after the April, 1993, referendum. The government is guilty of criminal negligence for allowing open preparations for the armed uprising to proceed throughout the country.

Leaders of the National Front, like (?Tsyganov) and the People's Deputy Konstantinov, leader of the Labor Union of Moscow Anpilov, Retired General Makashev and other ultras, didn't conceal their plans. They became united, organized and rehearsed. One such rehearsal in May brought in its wake some casualties. Can there be any talk of dictatorship if Yeltsin and his team were caught offguard by the opposition? That's why I think that the majority of the population have a fear not of dictatorship but a fear that after the quelling of the Bolshevik putsch and in spite of Yeltsin's decrees, strengthening of democracy may be lost.

Lessons of Moscow 'Tragedy' Pondered

PM1110141593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Oct 93 pp 1, 2

[Aleksandr Golts article: "Civil War Stopped. Still a Long Way To Go to Civic Society"]

[Text] During the era known as stagnation, there was a terrible epidemic. The young and not so young loved to say what a shame it was that they had not been involved in the "far-off civil war." Now we have all—some directly, some thanks to television—been involved in this civil war.

It brought us the smoke of blazing homes, burning powder, the smell of bloodshed and death. And this stench left no doubt as to the terrible nature of this war. War in which the citizens of one country, people speaking the same language, shoot one another. We managed to stop on the very brink.

The tragedy of what happened is so obvious that those who were ready to celebrate victory with music and salutes somehow rapidly fell silent. They were all aware that it is time to contemplate what our lives are to be like. The situation can and must be stabilized by emergency measures. A situation that the professionals describe as operational. The armed gunmen must be caught and the extremists who gambled on violence must be isolated. Citizens' basic security and law and order must be ensured. But that is, after all, only the first step toward the true normalization of the situation. Then comes a far more complex task—that of trying to normalize political and public life, which has of course been severely disrupted by recent events. Without this we will not come to create a civilized, mature, civic society about which so much has been said and which is accordingly one of the main aims of the democratic reforms.

It was during these few days that it became obvious how far we are from this society. In a short time acute political conflict has for the second time (if you count the State Committee for the State of Emergency) turned into an outright armed clash. Needless to say, you cannot describe as mature and civilized a society where political clashes are resolved not by the ratio of votes "for" and "against" but by the ratio of attacking and defending forces. In effect, we are once again only starting on the road to a normal, truly stable social system.

It is constantly being said that future milestones on this path include early elections of all branches of power, the adoption of a new Russian Constitution, and thorough reform of state structures. But the whole point is that this road will hardly be reminiscent of Nevskiy Prospekt. And, in order to overcome the obvious difficulties, it is necessary to contemplate in earnest the lessons drawn from recent events. People today are saying that the orgy of bloodshed in the capital was perpetrated by various extremist organizations. But Khasbulatov and Rutskoy did not belong to these organizations. They recently considered themselves real democrats. Let us recall August 1991 when Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, and Rutskoy were close comrades-in-arms. What kind of tragic logic reduced them to such enmity? What kind of tragic logic turns politicians, seemingly full of virtue, into quite different people capable of not balking at any—even bloody—means of attaining their ends?

We are fully determined this time to elect honest, decent, intelligent people. But what guarantee is there that we will not make another mistake by trusting one politician's professorial tone or even another's brilliant military past alone? One of our political scientists has the very accurate idea that authoritarianism places the emphasis on a perfect politician, while democracy on the other hand presumes he is imperfect like any other man. And it is ensured against anyone's individual weaknesses causing a universal tragedy. Our eternal Russian calamity probably resides in the fact that the people have always believed in "some" good czar. The result of this today is that the role of the personal factor is overexaggerated in the public consciousness. Everything comes down to the primitive question: Do you support this man or that one...

However, it is one thing when a politician is not motivated by anything but his own "ego" and the interests of his retinue. And quite another if he expresses the interests of various social groups, social streams, and organizations. The ultimate question is who supports a particular politician, whom does he represent, and to whom is he accountable.

Here the political structure of society and the creation of conditions for the formation of a ramified system of political and social institutions, organizations, and mechanisms, whereby all social strata and groups could coordinate their interests and take part in one way or another in governing the state or effectively influencing it, is becoming extremely important.

In a mature democratic society there should not in theory be politicians who exist autonomously, outside influential public organizations with clearly avowed principles. That kind of organization, as it worries about its public image and its future, no longer permits an excessive increase in its leader's ambition for power.

As the future elections are being discussed everywhere today, the first steps must at least be taken in that direction. There is, regrettably, extremely little time—just two months. And at the moment we only have a host of small parties and miniparties, of which people in society are not really aware. And, of the well-known politicians, so far only Yegor Gaydar perhaps has directly associated himself with a specific political movement.

The problem of the opposition is a particularly complex and painful one today. It is not a question of the pogromists or those who dispatched them. Let the courts deal with them. It is a question of people who quite sincerely took part in the rallies and protest actions, of those people who even now do not share the views of the

current Russian leadership. It would be a tremendous mistake to rob them of the right to a voice and a chance to set up public organizations. Of course, a state of emergency is now in force out of tough circumstance. But it cannot last forever (and there is every indication that the Kremlin also realizes that—as soon as circumstances permitted, it abandoned its preliminary political censorship of the press).

If we want a truly stable and democratic society, there must not be any sizeable groups in the country lacking an opportunity to state their views. One should hardly expect a constructive civilized opposition to appear of its own accord. It does not emerge from nothing, it grows out of general political culture. Regrettably, the reality is that in the future too political disputes in our country may be extremely stark and possibly not overly civilized. So be it. Provided that they are not bloody! The authorities must realize that it is in their own interests for there to be a legal opposition. Otherwise dissenters, considering themselves vanquished, will see other means of making their presence felt. Via the underground and terrorism. And that is where civil war starts. And we have already had that.

The fact that those calling people to arms should automatically be persecuted and deprived of a platform is another matter. The ban on calls to violence must be the only ban. That is the role of the state, to protect society from people who want to change it by force of arms rather than by force of ideas.

There is another lesson to be learned from these tragic days, which I am bound to mention. Regrettably, during this time our state seemed weak and unprepared for effective action in emergency situations.

I realize that people wanted to resolve the crisis by political means and many believed that this was possible. But analytical and other services are here to predict worst-case scenarios. Law enforcement organs are here to effectively counter the worst development of events. In certain situations, moreover, some counteractions should start automatically, according to a preconceived plan. If people rush you with a knife, it is pointless trying to remember how to intercept the enemy's hand or hack down an adversary. Either you are trained to do this or you are not.

We have repeatedly heard that the main danger to the state at present stems from internal crises. So what prevented a system of actions for law enforcement organs from being formulated and fine-tuned in practice? What prevented the requisite number of internal troops, trained in dealing effectively with such situations, from being set up?

It is only in that situation that illegal actions can be stopped in the early stages. So that the Army, meant to defend the fatherland from an external threat, does not have to once again sort out the politicians' mistakes.

We reiterated: "The Army is beyond politics." But it turns out that we did not provide this principle with material backing. Today some people are fearfully ready to abandon a principle that has been asserted on many occasions in recent years: The Army must not be an argument in political wrangles. But abandoning that practice is tantamount to abandoning the idea of building a democratic state.

We have experienced tragedy, a natural disaster if you like. But this does not mean that we must now wear bulletproof vests and keep a Kalashnikov assault rifle under our pillows.

What happened happened, but if we want a normal life, we must reassure ourselves, we must ponder how to carry on living, we must once again start moving toward a normal stable society, without under any circumstances betraying the fundamental values of democracy.

Crackdown Seen as 'Criminal Revolution'

PM1110104593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 8

[Stanislav Govorukhin article: "Days of Damnation"]

[Text] I have spent the whole year in a journalistic investigation of the crimes of Power. I can bear witness with facts at my fingertips: Monstrous crimes have been committed.

On the basis of the experience of any totalitarian regime it can be conjectured that attempts will be made either to remove or to defame such a witness. The latter is the most reliable method.

I can imagine how the loyalist press will pounce upon me. In the absence of glasnost I will be unable to reply.

I can imagine what my moviemaker friends will do to me. We have sad experience of the creative intelligentsia's behavior in difficult conditions—when conscience and courage are all that are needed.

So I am forced to take preventive measures.

I declare via your newspaper that I am quitting the Cinematographers Union. I have been in it too long. Our union has lied, has submissively endured all kinds of mockeries of citizens' rights, has wagged its tail before Power, and has remained silent or else has even applauded when people have been trampled upon and when constitutional institutions have been destroyed with a single stroke of the pen and elections to the Duma have been announced. ("Why not elections to a sultanate or caliphate?" a friend of mine, a professor of philosophy, asked.) There was not a squeak out of the Cinematographers Union even when the offensive against glasnost began, and it did not protest even when freedom of speech—the main gain of the people in liberating themselves from totalitarian oppression—was finally destroyed. Since 21 September not a word of truth has appeared either in the press or on television.

I consider it shameful to remain a member of such a creative union.

I am also laying down all public duties. In order not to let down people whom I care about and not to provide opportunities for delight to all kinds of riffraff and lickspittles.

Now I am free I can express my opinion about what is happening.

The people on the side of parliament, both those who fought and those who sympathized with what was from the outset a hopeless struggle, were not only or not so much communists. For instance, I was never a party member, never an adherent of communist ideas, and did everything I could to help the establishment of democracy in our country, but during these grim days all my sympathy has been with parliament.

Leaving aside the crazy Anpilov supporters, true communists are left only in the Kremlin. And Anpilov's supporters only aided Power. When people saw these faces distorted with malice beneath red banners, when they heard these shouts of "Back to the past!" they said: "Tsk, tsk! Anyone is better than this lot, even a bunch of thieves!" I wrote and said a great deal about this. It was no use. Anpilov's supporters and their like did their final service for the authorities 3 October.

That is not all. Talk of "dyarchy" is fairytales for idiots. There was no dyarchy in the country. In all oblasts, krays, and republics power belonged to presidential structures. And real power belonged to criminal structures. Or the mafia, as we are accustomed to say.

The mafia is no longer suited by the existing situation. It craves legalization. New elections must be held for this. As soon as possible. Before eyes are opened. The criminals are now confident of a positive result from their viewpoint. The outcome of the elections will be decided by money and the news media.

A profound criminal revolution has occurred in the country. The new elections will be the pinnacle of this revolution. The criminal mafia state will become entirely legitimate.

Parliament stood in the way of a legitimate criminal state.

The tragic events in the country were initiated by the 21 September edict. Every last victim on both sides is on the conscience of the authors of this edict.

The truth cannot be concealed. Sooner or later you will learn it.

At 1000 hours on 4 October I watched them firing at close range at parliament. We now know there were many women and children in the building. We gawpers were standing on the bridge, we had a perfect view. I attest that no defender of the White House could shoot at the attackers—crowds of gawkers were standing directly beyond the line of soldiers, very close to them (this is why they were not dispersed). And the tanks, firing from close range, were behind our backs.

A 120 mm gun fired. The shell exploded inside the building. The crowd on the bridge shouted in excitement: "That's the stuff, give it to them! Let them all burn, the swine!"

The gun fired again. Two old men stopped a little way away from the crowd (I talked with them later—they were front-line veterans and helped capture Koenigsberg). One of the old men said:

"They have shot Russia. We can go home."

Remember the days of damnation in Russia began when parliament was dispersed—in January 1918.

Once again grim night has fallen over the country.

Days of damnation have begun in Russia.

Scenes at White House, Kremlin on 3-4 Oct Detailed

PM0810132193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 2

[Observer Tamara Zamyatina "Eyewitness Testimony": "The Kremlin and the White House During the Days of the Revolt"]

[Text] At the behest of ITAR-TASS I spent Sunday 3 October in the White House, while on Monday 4 October I was in the Kremlin. That gave me, as the saying goes, things to compare and to reflect on, based on personal impressions, which are still more reliable than "objective analyses" made from outside.

So, the morning of 3 October. A service was taking place in the White House, a Sunday service. A priest was singing psalms in one of the offices, with a relay through loudspeakers to the square adjacent to the House of Soviets. Reconciliation; God's grace.

But is it not blasphemy, while singing about "loving thy neighbor," to be dragging boxes of shells up staircases and setting up some fool of a girl among a group of guards outside, eagerly posing for the television cameras? A photograph of her—now contorted by injuries—was later printed in IZVESTIYA.

On that morning the hot water was turned on for the inmates of the White House, and they organized a bath day. By then there was a very obvious smell of unwashed bodies in the once-grand corridors, with their crystal and their carpets. Today it has to be said with bitterness that a Christian ritual was observed: Many of the volunteer guards washed before they died.

Aleksandr Rutskoy's news conference at 1130. He began by blaming Boris Yeltsin for the 22 casualties of demonstrators' clashes with the militia on Smolensk Square on Saturday 2 October. Dismayed journalists exchanged

glances: Not even the most ubiquitous among them possessed such staggering "information" or, more simply, "disinformation," which Rutskoy needed as cover and justification for further "decisive actions." For greater convincingness Rutskoy declared that he had gotten his data using a receiver to monitor militia radio conversations, and he added that he could provide the corresponding tape recordings. "For some reason" he did not do so. The speaker went on to resolutely reject claims that fighters from the "Dnestr" Battalion and the Riga and Vilnius Special Purpose Militia Detachments were in the White House and that weapons were being illegally issued to them. "Nothing of the kind. In the House of Soviets there are only the authorized weapons of the guard administration," he declared without batting an eyelid.

Running ahead of events, I will point out that, as soon as Rutskoy called from the White House balcony at a few minutes after 1600 hours for City Hall and "Ostankino" to be stormed, people rushed for the exits with assault rifles at the ready from all the offices on all the floors. With assumed naivete I asked them: "Guys, why are you letting down the boss? He gave an assurance today that there were only authorized guns here." The guys avoided answering, but Ilya Konstantinov was extremely frank: "We have everything, including armored personnel carriers."

Soon we all saw for ourselves that they "had everything" but honor and a conscience.

I really am not dissembling: My bravado in talking with people armed to the teeth stemmed from the fact that, until the first blood was shed, they were terribly funny, posing as defenders of "the constitution's last citadel." Not that I was alone in underestimating the line between the funny and the sinister.

...On the staircase I came face to face with Ruslan Khasbulatov. The speaker's armed bodyguards pushed me against the wall and yelled menacingly: "Stand still!" "But I am not Fanny Kaplan..." [attempted assassin of Lenin in 1918]. Ruslan Imranovich smiled graciously—a man not devoid of a sense of humor.

At the news conference at 1500 hours the two comrades—Khasbulatov and Rutskoy—sat side by side. The face of one was as white as chalk; the other's was a burning hot sphere. Colleagues motioned toward them and winked at each other.

Then the speaker was "frank" with journalists for the last time. He expatiated that, if Yeltsin repealed his edict, "then I could still meet with the former—we have to get accustomed to this—president."

Outside the windows the crowd of demonstrators had broken through the cordon and started making a noise, and Khasbulatov quickly wrapped up the news conference. Soon he was striding across the corridor and onto the White House balcony. This threshold was, as it were, the threshold of the law: By calling for an assault, in a split second Khasbulatov became a criminal.

With what inconceivable enthusiasm the unwashed, unshaven population of the White House perceived the call to arms! Joyous embraces, congratulations, ovations. The white-coated sisters—the servers of refreshments and the cooks—wiped tears of happiness and emotion across their faces, blessing their heroes off to the war. The sisters get extra food and so, for the sake of their well-fed jobs, they were the last to leave the White House. They are our Yaroslavnas [allusion unknown].

When the smell of gunpowder wafted from City Hall, the chief editor ordered me, as a member of the fair sex, to "evacuate...."

On the morning of 4 October, now to the rumble of the cannonade issuing from the White House, I walked to the Kremlin. At the side of the former Lenin Museum I saw a barrier and people in uniform: All correct, I thought; precautions are necessary on such a day of troubles. But no. It only seemed so. This was just a construction fence, and the passage was open to the right, beyond the History Museum. I was struck by the serenity of Red Square. People were strolling and, as always, gawking at the guard of honor outside the mausoleum. There was just a small handful of militiamen outside the Spasskiye Gate....

The crows, unintimidated, were making a din in the silent Kremlin, where neither vehicles nor people moved. There were two helicopters and an armored personnel carrier on Ivanovskaya Ploshchad. A fire engine outside the president's residence. I have already recounted all this on an ITAR-TASS tape, however. I had a strong sense of the striking contrast between "the world's most heavily armed parliament" and the almost unarmed Kremlin. I will not hide the fact that the feeling that the strength of politicians, thank God, lies not only in weapons is a mature one. Although it is a bitter fact that they have made a poor job of defending not only themselves but also us.

Wandering along the corridors of the president's residence, I recalled that Rutskoy's apparatus—all his experts, advisers, and aides—was located behind the wide doors.

The day before, 3 October, on the White House balcony, to the accompaniment of Rutskoy's calls for an assault, one of them—I will not "expose" him—had been explaining in good English to a foreign journalist the correctness of his chief's actions. Yet much earlier, in March, when the vice president was still in power and had not finally dissociated himself from Boris Yeltsin, the same adviser had yelled at me in crude Russian down a domestic telephone: "Get over to the Kremlin tomorrow morning!" In the morning they organized almost a KGB investigation of me in the Kremlin, accusing me of allegedly falsifying a report from the vice president's news conference, carried over ITAR-TASS channels, on the "impossibility of a reconciliation with

the president." For about three hours they tried to talk me into issuing a denial. They let me go with these words: "We are humanly sorry for you. You will no longer be in the agency." At the time the general director of ITAR-TASS said to me: "They will fall like ninepins, while we have work to do." And so it turned out.

Today I am humanly sorry for them. These words are not petty revenge but only what I really feel. Clever, educated young people. But on whom did they gamble! Now they are embittered. Maybe some of them are in jail or dead. I am sorry.

I am sorry that they used their intellect to push Rutskoy up toward power. "Mark my words: He will be president!" the chief of Rutskoy's secretariat said to me in March. Yes, for a few days he was a quasi-president, funny and sinister at the same time. But then he became a criminal who stained Moscow with blood. What joy that he did not hold out until a presidential election. Anything could have happened. This October the path to fascism has been barred by dozens of people killed and hundreds injured. All the living shuddered. But what if he had won?

Just what somber thoughts do not enter your head, however, in front of Rutskoy's former office in the Kremlin. We went on. The nameplate "S.A. Filatov." Pinched-looking as the result of sleepless nights while negotations went on for a truce, to the accompaniment of which gunmen were moving into Moscow, Filatov extended his hand and granted an interview on the future elections. Free and democratic elections. God grant that we live to see them.

Legislative Commission's Functions, Personnel Highlighted

MK0910124093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

[Ivan Rodin report under the "Deputies" rubric: "Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Legacy Will Be Given Attention"]

[Text] Mikhail Mityukov, people's deputy of the Russian Federation elected for 1990-1995, has taken charge of the Commission for Legislative Initiative [zakonodatelnykh predpolozheniy] under the administration of the Russian president. According to him, more than 60 former deputies have signed up to work in it. The commission's statute has been drawn up and is supposed to be endorsed by Boris Yeltsin's edict next week. Mr. Mityukov's deputies, to all appearances, will be Deputies Igor Bezrukov, Viktor Sheynis, Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev, and Boris Zolotukhin. Deputy Grigoriy Bondarev is expected to be confirmed as secretary of the commission.

Mikhail Mityukov gave a brief outline of what the commission is going to do in the immediate future after its location has been decided (19 Novyy Arbat or Tsvetnoy Boulevard) and its personnel have been confirmed. The Commission for Legislative Initiative will draft normative acts for the future Federal Assembly, rules of procedure for it and its chambers, laws on the Federal Assembly's committees and commissions, the status of State Duma deputies and members of the Federation Council, as well as plans for the new parliament's lawmaking work.

All the draft laws abandoned in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet after the first reading or presentation, as well as those that had no chance to go beyond the parliamentary committees and commissions that drafted them, will be considered. In addition, the Commission for Legislative Initiative together with the Justice Ministry and the president's Main Legal Administration will take part in drafting legislative acts on court reform.

The commission is not going to be directly involved in drafting a new constitution. This objective will be taken over by yet another structure to be created under the presidential administration, probably to be led by Boris Zolotukhin.

Russian Nuclear Industry 'Incidents' Reported

LD1110214993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1937 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] The press office of the government committee for monitoring Russia's nuclear power stations, Goskomatomnadzor, puts the number of the country's operating nuclear power plants at nine. They have a total of 29 nuclear units with a combined capacity of 21,242 megawatts.

The first and second units of the Kursk station and the second unit of the Leningrad station are working at 70 percent capacity. The committee ordered the Balakov station to adjust its third unit to a 62 percent capacity from August 3 because of the faults in the unit's warning system.

As many as 9 units were in various stages of repair at 7 plants in September. There were 2 incidents of alarm systems being switched on and 6 of load-shedding.

The list of more serious incidents includes:

1. A container of titanium powder caught fire during welding operations on the second unit of the Balakov station at about 11:00 on September 1. The fire was put out within 2 hours. No damage is reported to the main equipment or any excessive radiation levels.

2. Load-shedding occurred on September 4 on a turbogenerator because of the failure of the computer unit of the electrohydraulic control system. The unit was replaced and generator re-started.

Two compressor units of the drive units went out of order later in the day and next morning and operations

were begun to put the unit into cooling mode. The load was restored after the compressors were repaired and the unit re-started.

Generator load-shedding and compressor failure are marked as zero and 1 incidents on the IAEA-set 7-scale of incidents respectively.

3. Load-shedding from 700 to 500 megawatts was also reported on September 6 at the third unit of the Kursk station after one of the generators stopped because of oil leakage in its oil system. The load was brought back to normal by the following morning.

4. There was also an incident of load shedding on the fourth unit of the Leningrad station on September 7 after one of the rods was introduced into the active zone because of the computer unit failure. The unit was replaced and load brought to normal.

Research Nuclear Reactors

Out of a total of 26 research reactors, 8 were temporarily stopped, 4 others under repair and 2 in the process of being scrapped in September.

There were 3 incidents in which automatic safety systems had worked, 2 of them falsely because of instrument failure.

No incidents of violating nuclear or radiation safety or exposure to excessive radiation were reported.

Nuclear Powered Vessels

Russia's nuclear-powered merchant fleet consists of eight vessels with a total of 13 nuclear power units, including nuclear-powered ice breakers Sibir, Arktika, Vaigach and Sevmorput all of which are under repair. The ice breaker Lenin was docked for repair earlier.

No incidents of safety violations or excessive radiation levels were reported at the merchant vessels in September.

But there was an incident of exposure to excessive radiation at the floating workshop of a North Fleet repair plant in Murmansk-60. As many as 8 servicemen were taken to hospital after being exposed to excessive radiation when a container of heat-emitting elements of the submarine's nuclear reactor was brought for loading instead of an empty one.

Plutonium Producing Reactors

No incidents were reported last month at Russia's 3 plutonium-producing plants, Goskomatomnadzor's press office said.

However, there was a case of theft of about 300 kg of low content uranium (U-235 content of 0.2 - 0.4 percent) at Chepetsk engineering plant in the town of Glazovo, Udmurtia, early last month. A special commission of inquiry was set up.

Military Issues

Grachev Promises To 'Clean Up' Moscow

PM1110150193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 7 Oct 93

[By correspondents S. Sokolova and A. Bozhzhov from Khodynka; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Sokolova] [Video shows Defense Minister Grachev arriving at Khodynka, addressing troops.] Had the order from the president to bring in troops come earlier, there might have been fewer casualties among the civilian population, and the television center, the City Hall, and other facilities would not have been captured, Pavel Grachev declared at today's meeting with servicemen who took part in the events at the White House 4 October. He also stated that the heaviest losses were sustained by the 119th Airborne Assault Regiment, which was blocking all the White House exits together with the OMON [special-purpose militia detachment].

[Begin Grachev recording] We were not just routing some kind of armed bandits and so forth. They were shooting at us, and unfortunately we sustained losses. We averted civil war [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Sokolova] Briefing the troops remaining in the capital on their tasks, Pavel Grachev said that the divisions that are being kept in Moscow will assist the OMON to flush out bandits from the city. He announced that additional OMON units will be brought to the city—around 4,000 men.

[Begin Grachev recording] The state of emergency expires 10 October, but it appears that there will be a presidential decree today to extend it by another week, until 15 October or thereabouts. It is necessary to clean up the city. Other cities are also looking to us. They have to be cleaned up too. There are a lot of hooligans and riff-raff about. [end recording]

Says Generals Backed Yeltsin

PM0810154193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 2

[Mikhail Karelov article: "Top Secret"; and Igor Chernyak report: "Minister Grachev Asserts" under the general heading "Generals Continue Battle"]

[Text]**Top Secret**

Before 4 October Air Force Commander in Chief Petr Deynekin had informed A. Rutskoy and R. Khasbulatov through V. Syrovatko, secretary of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium, about everything that had been said at meetings of the Defense Ministry collegium, making them acquainted with certain details. This was reported by one of the leaders of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry and was confirmed by a representative of the government. According to them,

after 21 September certain commanders had sent telegrams to Boris Yeltsin and Ruslan Khasbulatov proposing that they return to the "zero option." It is assumed that this was done in accordance with a secret instruction from Deputy Defense Minister Colonel General Valeriy Mironov via the commanders of some categories of troops with Pavel Grachev's agreement.

The organization of messages of this kind overturns Pavel Grachev's well-known tenet about the Army's noninterference in politics. Does participation in a campaign of this kind directed at the president and supreme commander in chief really not amount to overt political pressure? And are not the actions of the Russian generals reminiscent of the well-known demands of the generals who were commanding the fronts in 1917 and who, by their telegrams, promoted the abdication of Nicholas II?

Information also appeared yesterday about the contacts that A. Rutskoy had had with B. Gromov and P. Deynikin who, in telephone conversations, expressed "sympathy" with the White House, but renounced concrete action on the pretext of the need to "thoroughly investigate the situation." Influential politicians from the president's immediate entourage have been extremely disturbed by the actions of certain military leaders in recent days. [Karelov ends]

Minister Grachev Asserts

On the evening of 6 October in a confidential conversation with your KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent, Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation defense minister, reaffirmed that Colonel General Mironov had been involved in coordinating action on the dispatch of telegrams to B. Yeltsin and R. Khasbulatov. But, as the defense minister put it, all the telegrams unambiguously condemned the actions of the Supreme Soviet and Rutskoy, and backed Yeltsin. Grachev reported that the telegrams were registered at the Defense Ministry and had first been sent to him and then to the president and the ex-speaker. The minister stressed that all districts and fleets had also received telegrams from Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, and Achalov asking them to disobey orders and to come over to them, but all the commanders "reacted instantly in the negative, and I learned immediately about all these documents."

As for [Air Force Commander in Chief] Deynekin, according to Grachev he was indeed contacted several times by Rutskoy, because "they are friends and comrades; he made no secret of it, and I knew all about it." Rutskoy repeatedly asked the pilots to side with him, but "Deynekin replied politely, 'Sasha, stop what you're doing—I've got one president and one minister, and our personal relationship should not come into it in any circumstances.'" Grachev reported that Deynekin immediately told him about all his conversations with Rutskoy. The report of contacts between Boris Gromov and Rutskoy and Khasbulatov has not been confirmed, according to information from the defense minister.

Among the other contacts between the Russian Federation Defense Ministry leadership and the "White House," the defense minister mentioned the conversation between Rutskoy aide Krasnov and V. Mironov, during which the latter categorically refused to side with the parliament disbanded by the president, and the conversation between Chief of the General Staff M. Kolesnikov and V. Achalov ("on my authorization"), when Kolesnikov tried to dissuade Achalov from "being dumb or doing anything stupid."

Before talking with your KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent, Pavel Grachev commented at journalists' request on the actions over the past few days of Chief Military Inspector Konstantin Kobets, who allegedly played a leading role in suppressing the uprising. Laughing, the minister said: "OK, I'll tell you about Kobets, you can write this down. When the attack on the CIS Joint Armed Forces headquarters was launched there were just 15 guards there. Nobody thought that Makashov or Terekhov would attack this sacrosanct facility, because it was an international facility... I sent Konstantin Ivanovich there and said: 'Konstantin Ivanovich, get over there, think of it as a Defense Ministry reserve command post, and take charge. Organize the defenses and do everything to ensure that there are no outrages. [no closing quotation marks as published] Well, Konstantin Ivanovich cheered up—all the more so as he had been in charge of communications all the time, and now people were being placed under his command, he had taken on the role of military leader, and immediately got the press (around 10 journalists) on his side (laughs). But we authorized him to do so. And he simply carried out his mission of protecting this installation. He immediately showed his aggression (laughs) and issued an ultimatum to someone. Anyway, he coped with his task and is currently there, he has a temporary office there"...

Grachev categorically denied the rumors that at the time the unrest began there was confusion in the Kremlin and power structures were hesitating. Holding up documents, he spoke in detail about the chronology of events down to the minute. The minister said that the fact that there were no Defense Ministry troops at "Ostankino" during the tragedy that occurred at "Ostankino" was the result of the position taken by Yerin, who had tried to convince everyone at a government session that he could cope using his own forces. Grachev expressed a certain amount of surprise that 500 internal troops and militiamen with 21 armored personnel carriers proved unable to rapidly cope with around 100 gunmen and a mob. "If we throw the Army into every incident, it'll be chaos," the defense minister said.

Why did it take so long to capture the "White House"? The defense minister believes that the storming could have been completed by midday. "But Russian people are unconcerned about danger—a crowd started gathering and got in the way of the shooting. The crowd

should have been denied access by the militia, even if it meant using special means—but the militia failed to do their job."

Some of the servicemen were taken away from harvesting potatoes, carrots, and cabbages, but 21,000 men were not. (According to Grachev, the possibility of the situation deteriorating was examined at a government session with the participation of Mayor Luzhkov of Moscow, but it was decided not to take soldiers away from gathering in the harvest).

The defense minister denied the rumors that General Staff officers were in the "White House": "Nobody currently serving at the Defense Ministry or General Staff has been arrested." Two people—Semenov and Gromov—were, according to Grachev, unable to attend the Defense Ministry Collegium session following the edict on the state of emergency. The former was receiving troops at the Ground Forces Staff, while the latter could not get through, since the Defense Ministry building was already blockaded by extremists, and he spent 40 minutes trying to get through the labyrinth. Grachev denied the report that he had allegedly tried to persuade the president not to send in troops—as he put it, the reports in certain newspapers on the content of the talks between the defense minister and B. Yeltsin do not square with reality. Grachev reported that he had specially kept four aides present with him. They heard all his conversations and can verify their content.

According to the defense minister, the troops are not being withdrawn anywhere out of Moscow—they are based at Khodynka Field, including the tanks: "At night the servicemen will be helping the militia to enforce the curfew. We will be working to prevent crime [porabotayem s prestupnikami]—naturally, in conjunction with the Special-Purpose Militia Detachment, which has brought another 4,000 or so men into Moscow."

Details White House Storming

MK0810143093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 8 Oct 93 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Defense Minister Pavel Grachev by Dmitriy Kholodov in Moscow; date not given: "The Khaki October"]

[Text] Pavel Grachev received us before his regular session in the gym where he was going to play tennis. In his office, under the penetrating gaze of Boris Yeltsin and Peter the Great, painted on canvas, the defense minister revealed all the details of the operation to storm the White House.

[Kholodov] There have been rumors that as the riots broke out, the Kremlin was in a state of confusion while the power structures, in particular the army, showed signs of wavering. This is apparently why the combatants kept the entire city in fear for several hours. How far does this correspond to reality?

[Grachev] There were no confused people in the Kremlin. The president quite confidently took charge. The prime minister immediately organized a headquarters in the Kremlin and another headquarters in the Defense Ministry under my guidance. It also included representatives of other power structures, Security Council Secretary Oleg Lobov, and a few people from the government.

[Kholodov] What part did the army take in defending Ostankino and in disarming the gunmen who took up defenses in the White House?

[Grachev] There is the Law on the State of Emergency, Article 21 of which says that in exceptional circumstances the army may be used. This exceptional situation came about on 3 October at 1600 [Moscow time]. Based on the president's edict, I made a decision to use the armed forces jointly with the Internal Affairs Ministry and the Security Ministry. It took me one hour to make this decision. I had to make certain which troops should be put on alert and which lines of march should be used. At 1700 I began issuing orders, and committed the 2nd (Taman) Division consisting of 1,000 men equipped with armored hardware, the 4th (Kantemirov) Tank Division—400 men using wheeled equipment, the 119th Paratroopers Regiment of the Naro-Fominsk Division—450 men, the 27th Motorized Infantry Brigade—200 men, and a company from the 218th Special Purpose Paratroopers Battalion aboard wheeled vehicles.

This mix of armed groups was chosen because it was planned not only to undertake actions to drive back and seal off areas, but also to use weapons. The belligerent mood of the opposition manifested itself on Smolensk Square. On the other hand, however, it was a Sunday afternoon. People were returning from their dachas along highways and if a tank column had passed, traffic jams and accidents would have occurred. Finally, there was no need to have as huge a force as in August 1991. Of course, there was that crowd, but the main danger came only from the armed people.

The task was to muster personnel within two hours. You wrote that a large part was engaged in harvesting work. The weather was bad and there were fears that beetroots, carrots, and cabbages, only 50 percent harvested, would end up under the snow. The government decided not to divert personnel from the agricultural fields.

The 2nd Motorized Infantry Division set out at 2100 and by 0200 had concentrated in the area of the Defense Ministry General Staff. The 27th Brigade started out at 1800 (that is to say, at once) to the same place, and the 4th Tank Division started out in vehicles and by 2030 concentrated in the area of the Ground Forces Headquarters. The 119th Regiment arrived at the Airborne Troops Headquarters by 2100. Upon arrival, all received a task to accomplish.

The situation was becoming complicated with attacks launched on the City Hall building and Ostankino. The internal affairs minister phoned me, and we decided to

move the 27th Brigade there right from the march. The brigade commander was ordered to change his route and quickly move to Ostankino. When the 27th Brigade arrived, storming began. According to the Internal Affairs Ministry, there were approximately 4,000 unarmed and 100 armed people. At first the Internal Affairs Ministry decided to defend Ostankino with its own forces. There were 400 internal and special purpose troops and six armored personnel carriers [APC] and as fighting began another 15 APC's and 100 militiamen arrived. The question arises: Why were they beaten at Ostankino? The internal affairs minister ordered not to use arms first, but to act using police methods. Only after the attackers started firing did the security forces use weapons. Some 10 minutes after that the crowd moved away. They say for a repeat storming. But this is nonsense. A special operations group went there. The internal affairs minister advised me on the phone that there were enough forces. We came to the conclusion that the attackers, who had sustained losses, would not undertake another assault. And so it was—everything was calm. The 27th Brigade was ordered to move along the original line of march. Therefore these rumors—to the effect that they did not arrive on time or that they should have been reinforced—are being put about by dilettantes.

The army was tasked with protecting major installations, including the Defense Ministry itself. At about 1800, 500 people arrived there and blocked the building. You understand, I would never have surrendered the Defense Ministry. The main thing is not the building but its contents—the nuclear force control center is located there. The crowd was not bold enough to storm the Defense Ministry. Apparently they were led by military people. A group of former Afghan war servicemen under Kotenev arrived who "straightened things out" and after a short discussion the crowd dispersed.

From 2300 to 2400 on 3 October at a Defense Ministry Collegium session with the president and the premier, combat missions were assigned to the troops. Could we have immediately, during the night, moved in to storm the White House? We could have. Realistically, storming could have begun at 0200. But we did not—there was no need. First, crowds of civilians had gathered around the White House. They could have been hurt as a result of our actions. Moreover, night is night. I know what night combat operations are—I have organized them myself, and I have fought in them—inevitably the troops would have been firing at their own. We decided to wait until dawn, trying, with the arrival of troops, to persuade the White House to surrender. Starting at 0700, the troops began to move forward. By 0800 the White House was sealed off—the troops moved in from the march. As I had expected, the APC's were needed. After the Taman Division, the 119th Paratroopers Regiment arrived. Then the Kantemirov Division. And then another Internal Affairs Ministry regiment. The action was rapid, but in the approach to the City Hall building, snipers opened fire from the windows. The order was to sit inside the APC's and not to return fire. The attack began when four APC's from the opposition side started moving in on the Taman Division unit. Large caliber machine guns opened fire to destroy the APC's.

Rutskoy and Khasbulatov ostensibly expressed the wish to negotiate. However, they were not really doing anything toward that. We decided that they were playing for time in order to wait until dark to slip away under cover of nightfall.

Seeing that we could not force them to come out, we pulled up the tank company of the 4th Division. By 1000 the tanks had moved up. We warned: We will use tanks if you do not come out. The answer came: Give us an hour, and then they asked for two—it was a clear time game. No one came out except for a small group of women.

The tank men carried out their task. Again pleas started coming from the White House to stop the fire. They were using not only communication channels but also acting through intermediaries—Aushev and Ilyumzhinov. We waited, but no one surrendered. Then we pulled up the motorized infantry company on BMP-2 armored vehicles and intensified fire from the tanks. Under the cover of this fire the paratroopers sealed off all exits. By 1700 the besieged saw that they were completely encircled and that the "Alfa" and "Vympel" groups were ready to be engaged, and they surrendered. Then individual gunmen had to be destroyed, that is to say, wolf hunting began.

All the subdivisions acted smoothly and the task was accomplished within one day. Could we have finished earlier? We could have—by midday. But the Russian people are not so careless that they were not afraid to come out under bullets—a large crowd of people had gathered, for the most part supporters of the president. They were offering their help in storming the White House. I went out twice. In the morning I inspected all the troops and checkpoints. I issued an order not to fire if civilians were in the way. The militia failed to accomplish its task to prevent civilians from entering the combat operations zone. The second time I went out to the bridge. Not to negotiate—I did not wish to negotiate with criminals—but to adjust fire. Although through communication channels I proposed to the besieged that while I was there, on the bridge, they could come up and talk.

Firing from tanks was difficult. I saw that only with sniper fire could the sixth and seventh floor areas be attacked, but that kind of fire would not be not effective. People in the White House understood that it was dangerous at the upper levels and concentrated in underground premises. I held a conference on the bridge with the commanders who were to break through inside. The tank men said that they could hit below the fourth floor. I thought for a long time and finally made a decision and at 1630 the first four shots were fired from the tanks. After that the opposition raised white flags.

During the night units of the 2nd and the 4th Divisions and the 119th Regiment, which were directly engaged in the fighting, were replaced by other units.

[Kholodov] Was the army ready for this course of developments?

[Grachev] Part of its forces was—in the event of a state of emergency being introduced. The army did not stand aside and it did its work. Now no shots are being fired and the tanks are concentrated in one area—in Khodynka. Part of the forces will be assisting with the enforcement of the curfew. Cleaning up operations continue.

[Kholodov] What, apart from the fact that personnel were working on collective farm fields, caused the delay?

[Grachev] You have written about rapid reaction forces. These are precisely such forces. These are the 119th Paratroopers Battalion and the special purpose battalion—they are located 95 km away. Finally, the Tula Paratroopers Division which, starting at four in the morning, carried out a 200 km march in armed vehicles along two routes from Tula and Ryazan. Just try to cover this distance in a situation like that in your own car. In addition, the 76th Pskov Paratroopers Division was on full alert and was to have been dropped at the Chkalovskoye airfield, but no such need arose. By the evening of 5 October an all-clear signal was issued. There was another special purpose brigade in reserve in Chuchkov. These are the same kind of guys as in the "Alfa." Perhaps a little better. They would have been used if the White House had not been taken before evening. Some 1,500 men would have been dropped from helicopters in the area of the White House and they would have completed the whole thing overnight.

Some personnel were indeed summoned from the potato-gathering operation—for the most part tank and APC operators and gunners. The drivers were all in place. The remaining 21,000 soldiers continued with their potato endeavor.

Larger forces could have been used. But why excite the people? That would only have resulted in confusion and road damage. There was plenty—believe me.

[Kholodov] What, in your opinion, was the mood in the army during these days?

[Grachev] I cannot judge the mood of each soldier. Everything worked smoothly. After the state of emergency edict, all the deputies arrived when the summons was issued, except for General Gromov and Ground Forces Commander in Chief Semenov, who was meeting with the troops. The former could not get through—the Defense Ministry was surrounded by a crowd. Thirty minutes later he came in through the old building—there is a passage. You saw Rutskoy phoning his unit at the last moment and giving an order: "Pilots, take off, take off!" Not a single commander fulfilled his order. Although, of course, Rutskoy had the closest relations with the pilots. And he was counting on them. But apparently they were very negative toward what he was saying. Generally speaking, the mood was robust. During this week even crimes stopped. The process of slackening [rasslabukha] had passed. There have been no people hanged, shot dead, or drowned, and there have been no deserters. So far this situation is holding—the army is very manageable. My task is to keep the army under this strain and then gradually to start making things easier, downgrading it to a lower alert status.

[Kholodov] It has been reported that officers from the top command were arrested in the White House, in particular from the General Staff. What is the future fate of the officers who took part in the putsch?

[Grachev] Former top commanders Colonel General Achalov and Colonel General Makashov have been arrested. Individuals or small groups but not whole units switched to the side of the opposition. Twelve military deputies were working there and four of them carried out my order to return to their units. With respect to the others, an investigation under way. According to information in my possession, these include Rear Admiral Chebotarevskiy, Major General Koltunov, and Major Dorofeyev. The other five we cannot find, and we have no accurate information about them. Therefore it is too soon to say lest a mistake should occur. This is not just a matter of going out and drinking oneself blind and then recovering from a hangover—this is far more serious.

Between 20 and 25 people took part in the events. The first place belongs to the Humanitarian Academy (former political academy)—four to five people. The Dzerzhinskiy Academy—one person. The Frunze Academy—one person. There were two group instances. The 326th Air Defense and Missile Regiment near Podolsk. Commander Colonel Borodin lined up the regiment and issued an order: "Those who will come with me to defend the White House—two strides forward!" Eighteen people came out. They were stopped on the march and arrested. The second instance occurred in Noginsk. There, Captain Ostapenko, deputy company commander in charge of educational work, organized 18 conscripts. At midnight they set out for Moscow aboard a truck, armed with automatic rifles, but they were detained on the Shchelkovskoye Highway 31 km from the city. Ostapenko shot himself. And there was also Lieutenant Colonel Uvarov, chief of the chemical service of the 106th Paratroopers Division, who tried to raise a chemical troop subdivision but his subordinates refused to obey him. At present Uvarov in on the run, but I think that we will soon find him.

These are all the instances there have been in the army. Those who are prosecuted—for stealing weapons, for disobeying the minister's orders—will be convicted. The soldiers and seamen who were acting under orders will not be punished and they will continue their service, but the officers will be discharged.

Views Military's Role

LD0910145293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0200 GMT 9 Oct 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Excerpts] A black week in Russia's history is coming to an end. Brother rose up in war against brother. There are no winners or losers. Pain and suffering remain in the families of many of our compatriots. [passage omitted] But why was the participation of Russian soldiers required? Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev talks about this at our microphone.

[Begin Grachev recording] I held several meetings of the military collegium. I had several conversations with the district and naval commanders of individual formations, in which they said bluntly that, for the sake of the overall task of ensuring the security of the state, the army must, and would, influence the course of events which might initiate the unleashing of civil war in Russia.

On 3 October, having discussed the situation that had been created at the collegium and after talking to, and consulting, district and naval commanders, we concluded unequivocally that action to organize a civil war had begun. People came to the conclusion within the country that the army could no longer remain silent. My views were also reported to our president, the commander in chief. There was also a session of the government, chaired by Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin, at which the situation at that time was actually described as critical and as being on the verge of war.

Then, in order to prevent the unleashing of the carnage of civil war, we decided to use some of the subunits of the Armed Forces in Moscow. On 4 October, by order of the supreme commander in chief and in order to halt these disturbances, units of the Armed Forces were brought into Moscow to collaborate with the internal affairs bodies and security bodies for the purpose of ensuring order. Only a small number of troops were brought in, 1,300 men in total. Under no circumstances was this connected with the destruction of, say, the deputies or the White House service staff. No. There was one aim: to destroy the militant groupings or to confiscate the weapons that had been issued to them illegally in unlimited quantities.

During the blockade of the White House, we encountered fierce resistance. For a long time, we tried again through various channels to persuade the leaders who were in the White House to surrender their weapons and resolve the conflict without bloodshed. But, unfortunately, there was no meeting of minds. The troops were immediately subjected to massive organized action. Firearms had to be used, heavy-caliber machine guns on APC's, the weapons of the infantry combat vehicles, and the assault forces' combat vehicles, and subsequently tanks too.

Thanks to the servicemen's skilful action, the task was successfully accomplished.

There remain the Afghanistan veterans, led by former Afghan veteran [name indistinct]. He was one of the first to propose giving me direct assistance. The Afghan veterans sat on the APC's, vehicles and tanks of our servicemen and joined us in tackling the question of destroying those who had tried, in effect, to accomplish a coup. [end recording]

[Announcer] At this point, we should like to stop the recording of the defense minister to enable you to hear the recollections of Lieutenant Colonel (reserve) Vladimir Gribov, an Afghanistan veteran and a direct participant in the combat operations. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] And again we listen to Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev. He continues to talk about the army's participation in the tragic events of 4 October.

[Begin Grachev recording] I would like to thank the entire staff of the Armed Forces, commanders of all ranks, and district and naval commanders for the endurance, truly state wisdom, and civic responsibility which they showed during those critical days for the country. In spite of their desperate attempts, unlawful elements failed to destabilize the situation in the Army and Navy. They failed to spread the conflict to the barracks, to the crew's quarters and headquarters, or to combat duty posts. The army and navy has rallied, as never before. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Begin Grachev recording] These events are indeed tragic events, but they have shown—and now I can say in all confidence—that over the past few days the Army has indeed become more united, firm and manageable. That is the main thing. This is a guarantee of a united, democratic, and, we believe, in the future, a mighty and prosperous Russia. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Meets Troops Who Captured White House

LD1110195193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Tatiyana Khudobina] Today at Khodynka Field, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev met servicemen who took part in the events at the White House on 4 October. According to Pavel Grachev, it is probable that a decree will be signed by the president of Russia today on extending the state of emergency for another two weeks, since the hot spots of tension in Moscow have not yet been completely eliminated. Therefore, in explaining to the servicemen the tasks for the immediate future, Pavel Grachev said that order will be enforced in the capital with the help of servicemen, and the city will be cleared of armed bandits.

Yeltsin Tries To Counterbalance Grachev's Influence

MK0910100193 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[Vitaliy Marsov report under the "Authority" rubric under the general headline: "State of Emergency in Moscow To Be Extended. Defense Minister Makes a Pointed Statement"]

[Text] On Thursday evening [7 October], the 2300 [2000 GMT] "Vesti" television news program carried a report on Defense Minister Pavel Grachev's visit to military units stationed on Khodynskoye Field in Moscow. The defense minister was said to have told his subordinates that had the president ordered troops into Moscow earlier, there would have been fewer casualties. This statement, which is more than significant politically, confirmed the well-known theory that a political leader and a military chief who supported the politician in the latter's most critical hour cannot live peacefully in "the same den"—the politician finds himself much too dependent on the military man. If someone dismisses this conclusion as "pseudoanalytical" or "provocative," as Vyacheslav Kostikov did the day before yesterday, let him recall, without going too far into history or other states, Marshal Zhukov's removal from Moscow by Khrushchev after largely similar events in the Soviet period. No doubt, both Boris Yeltsin and Pavel Grachev are aware of this and bear this scenario in mind, whether knowingly or subconsciously.

Given numerous complaints—even in the semi-official press—about the actions of the Internal Affairs Ministry in general and some of its officers during the events of 3-4 October, it may appear more than strange that the internal affairs minister was decorated with the "Hero of Russia" star, while the defense minister got only an order. Moreover, it turned out that on 1 October, Viktor Yerin was promoted to army general. Hence, it is fairly likely that it was the internal affairs ministry that was the main center of wavering (however, for a different reason than the army). Then Pavel Grachev's observation appears all the more pointed. On the other hand, if Boris Yeltsin tries to counterbalance one minister with another by promoting Viktor Yerin to army general, even in this event the problem of personal and, hence, political rivalry for influence on Yeltsin, will remain, if not with the president himself. As for us, we will only be able to follow these developments, unable to change their course in any way, like onlookers outside the White House in the daytime on 4 October.

'Nuclear Button' in Yeltsin's Hands During Crisis

PM0810195393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General Viktor Yesin, chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces Main Staff Operational Directorate, by Aleksandr Dolinin; place and date not given: "'Nuclear Button' Remained Under President's Control"]

[Text] [Dolinin] Viktor Ivanovich, in whose hands was the "nuclear button" at this critical moment for Russia?

[Yesin] It was, as it was supposed to be, in Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin's hands.

[Dolinin] The rocket forces mount alert duties at various levels of combat readiness. At what level was it during those days in October?

[Yesin] At the routine level. The alert duty was carried out in a state of constant combat readiness. There were no instructions from the supreme commander in chief or the defense minister to alter the level of readiness. We act in strict accordance with their orders.

Colonel General I.D. Sergeyev, commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces, basing his judgment on the situation which was developing, made a well-founded decision to enhance vigilance, strengthen security, and, if necessary, the defense of facilities.

[Dolinin] But what were the rocket forces doing during these days?

[Yesin] They were undergoing routine combat training, of course within the limits dictated by the situation. These applied mostly in the Moscow zone but also in other regions. For example, reasonable restrictions were imposed on troops leaving the places where they are permanently stationed.

[Dolinin] Were the plans for the troops' combat training disrupted? After all, as far as I know, end of training period performance evaluations had to be postponed...

[Yesin] No, they were not disrupted. We only had to make adjustments to the plans for combat training and troops' leave in accordance with the prevailing situation. Commanders at local level, outside the Moscow zone, carried out evaluations but within the certain restrictions I have already mentioned.

[Dolinin] Nonetheless, there are, obviously, problems which prevent the Strategic Rockets Forces' normal operations?

[Yesin] They are well-known and a feature of all branches of the Armed Forces. For example, there are insufficient finances. We are not asking for anything extra, but that amount which it was planned we should receive in 1993 is necessary. True, matters have gotten somewhat better during the past month. The government paid back several "debts," but this is not enough.

For this reason, we are unable in a number of places to prepare facilities adequately for the winter. Manpower acquisition is yet another problem. On the whole, the manpower acquisition for rocket forces units as regards sergeants and soldiers is at the same level as the other

service branches. Hence the increased workload for personnel, especially officers, when carrying out not just their own duties but also those of "absent" servicemen.

[Dolinin] What might be the fate of treaties on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons?

[Yesin] We assume that the START I Treaty will be implemented. Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus have ratified it. Ukraine has not as yet signed. At the same time we cannot maintain on alert duty those missile complexes whose life span has ended. We are taking them off alert duty according to plan, as are the Americans, in anticipation of the treaties coming into force. We are carrying out this work at the minimum necessary level and are taking pains over nuclear, technological, and ecological safety.

[Dolinin] One last thing, Viktor Ivanovich. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA published materials on the problems of nuclear safety in the Pervomayskaya Division in Ukraine. How serious is the situation there?

[Yesin] It remains unchanged and may only change for the better if the accords on nuclear missiles reached by the Russian and Ukrainian presidents in Yalta are implemented in practical terms. We are in control of the situation in rocket units in Ukraine within the framework of the grouping's operational control. Administrative control, as we know, is in the hands of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense.

No Change in Rocket Forces' Readiness Ordered

LD1110222393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 11 Oct 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] Lieutenant General Viktor Yesin, head of the operational directorate of the main headquarters of strategic rocket troops, has stated that during the events in Moscow the strategic rocket forces did not receive any instructions from either the commander in chief or the defense minister as to changing their degree of readiness. It was maintained as normal. As normal, the notorious nuclear button was under the control of the president. On the decision of the strategic rocket forces commander in chief, only the protection of the relevant facilities was stepped up and the readiness to defend them was increased, if the need arose. Quite understandably, restrictions were placed on the rocket troops servicemen in relation to leaving their places of permanent deployment. This is a sign of the times.

Ostankino Defenders' Commander Interviewed

PM1110123593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Valeriy Yakov: "'Knights' Without Dress Uniform"]

[Text] On 8 October in the Kremlin the servicemen who received combat awards for the courage they displayed during the street fighting included Internal Troops Lieutenant Colonel Sergey Lysyuk, commander of the "Vityaz" ["Knight"] special purpose troops detachment, who was presented with the Hero's Gold Star. During the storming of Ostankino it was this detachment which defended the television center.

I arrived at the detachment on a day of mourning. The boys were seeing off on their last journey their fellow servicemen from the Dzerzhinskiy division who had died on the approaches to the White House—Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Savchenko, Major Sergey Gritsuk, and Privates Oleg Petrov and Yuriy Lobov, and the day before the special purpose troops had said farewell to their detachment comrade Nikolay Sitnikov, who had died at Ostankino from a grenade thrower shot.

"At the moment they killed Nikolay I thought: Well, that's it, now the boys will really lay into everyone," Sergey Ivanovich says now. "But you know, they held back, they began take accurate aim at those who had weapons and Molotov cocktails, although, of course, ricocheting bullets and stray bullets hit many people."

Lysyuk listens with interest as I tell him where I was at that moment, where I had run from, behind which pillar I lay, and he laughs:

"Well, you were lucky. How did we manage not to kill you?"

The boys from "Vityaz" avoided killing many others thanks to their professionalism and restraint, which never once let them down. Even when, as I was lying on the grass and watching the tracer bullets from the windows, I realized that the television center defenders were firing sparingly and were not raining bullets on the entire crowd rushing along the avenue.

The situation was critical and during those minutes outside Ostankino it was not so much the future of the airwaves as the future of Russia which was being decided. Of course, none of those taking part in what was happening then thought about this, still less did anyone know that just minutes had decided everything.

Why was Ostankino left undefended given what was happening in Moscow and why did the special purpose troops receive the order to move in only after the storming itself is not a question for Lysyuk and his boys. Nor for his commander, who is subordinate to Hero of Russia, Minister Yerin. Even now the minister states confidently that the forces subordinate to him acted precisely and irreproachably... And in truth the honor of the uniform of the Ministry of Internal Affairs workers in those days was saved by the militia officers and privates who did not hesitate, and fortunately there were many of them. It was saved by special troops like the boys from "Vityaz," although of course they were thinking least of all of military honor at the time.

Incidentally, about the uniform. During our talk Sergey Ivanovich was constantly trying on jackets brought to him from somewhere by his subordinates in an attempt to find the right size for their commander's powerful figure.

"I have to go to the Kremlin for my award and I have no dress uniform," Lysyuk explained with embarrassment. "I usually wear fatigues, you know we have no truck with parades. You would do better to write in your notebook not that but the fact that over half my officers have no apartment. That my boys have no social protection—for about 18 months they have had no protection, as is the case in the airborne troops, and they have no danger bonus. They work like that, with the thought alone. And never mind wages, we have no decent radios! Only I, as the commander, have a 'Motorola,' the others have the devil knows what. If only some commercial structures would help us... Incidentally, please pass on our thanks to the 'Lefortovskiy' commercial bank, which during the days of the storming helped us with food and has now earmarked several million rubles for bonuses for my fighters."

I wrote that down too, but I reminded Sergey that four years ago, in the summer of 1989, when he was in Sukhumi with his detachment of crimson berets, he disarmed a group of gunmen and at the time we were rushing about together from one conflict zone to another on a red Icarus bus and I had already recorded all the detachment's "domestic problems" and then given an account of it in the newspaper. Since then Lysyuk's detachment has worked in dozens more trouble spots (we have met in Fergana and in Baku) and his boys have carried out several hundred more very risky operations and done it brilliantly, but the promises from the commanders, ministers, and even the country's leaders who promised to resolve their "domestic problems" and have succeeded each other have remained only promises. The present leaders are also making promises.

...And they did find a jacket for Sergey Lysyuk. For one day—to receive his award.

Yerin Defends Militia Actions 3-5 Oct

PM0810135393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Svetlana Shaydakova report: "Minister Does Not Believe Rumors"]

[Text] Moscow—At a news conference yesterday V. Yerin, Russian minister of internal affairs, stated with regard to the 3-5 October events in Moscow that the impression that the militia had disappeared from Moscow on those days was very deceptive. Yerin explained the absence of militia detachments around the "White House" 3 October by the fact that "only a madman or someone with a death wish would have put his men under fire." As he put it, troops even arrived in good time at Ostankino, which withstood a siege lasting many hours virtually without any armed protection, and that such a long siege had been brought about by the numerical advantage held by Makashov's men at the time the first detachment arrived.

The minister refuted the report that journalists with Moscow publications had been detained. Yerin reported that the organs had not received a single complaint from Russian journalists.

Holds News Conference

PM1210074993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 2

[Sergey Nagayev report: "Press Conference: 36,000 Cartridges"]

[Text] That [reference to headline in subslug] was the amount of ammunition found by the investigation group in the House of the Soviets after the fight for the building ended. At a press conference at the Russian Federation MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], Army General Viktor Yerin, minister of internal affairs, also said that a considerable number of firearms had been found in the White House: 185 assault rifles, 28 pistols, 5 grenade throwers, 13 rifles, and 278 gas pistols.

Organs of law and order detained 1,338 of the people in the House of the Soviets 4 October in order to establish their identity, the majority of whom have been released. Minesweeping work is now under way in the White House itself. According to V. Yerin, eight mine traps have so far been disarmed and it is too early to stop at that. What is more, the militia suspects that there are still several people hiding in the basement of the House of the Soviets (and the latter, as you know, has a fairly ramified network of underground bunkers and passageways) after the fighting.

As for the effectiveness of militia activity during the tragic hours and days, the minister of internal affairs acknowledged that despite good training by and large "there is a need for conclusions to be drawn with regard to law-enforcement organs' professional training as well as their technical equipment." Incidentally, it became clear at the press conference that radio hams took advantage of the militia's use of "open communications" frequencies to relay all the conversations. Thus, anyone with a short-wave radio could learn the militia's plans at the same time as militiamen! When asked what happened to the men in blue uniforms on Moscow's streets after demonstrators broke through the cordon around the White House (in particular after the mayor's office was captured by supporters of the Supreme Soviet), Viktor Yerin replied:

"The militia didn't go anywhere; they simply redeployed. In particular, internal affairs personnel massed in their stations in order to prevent standard-issue weapons from being seized, and there were several attempts to do just that."

During the street clashes and fighting five militia personnel and internal troop servicemen were killed, 23 sustained firearms injuries, nine suffered head injuries, and there were 13 with other injuries.

As for the crime situation in the Russian Federation, in the first nine months of the year crime rose just over 2 percent compared with the same period last year. Last year this indicator was rather higher—around 30 percent.

Kobets Says Defense Minister 'Was in Charge'

PM1210102893 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Report on interview with Russian Deputy Defense Minister Konstantin Kobets by ITAR-TASS observer Andrey Naryshkin; date, place not given: "Konstantin Kobets Calls for Objective Assessment of Events"]

[Text] Army General Konstantin Kobets, Russian Federation chief military inspector and deputy defense minister, has appealed to the Russian mass media for an objective assessment of the Russian Defense Ministry's role in the events associated with the suppression of the rebellion in the capital.

In an interview for an ITAR-TASS observer he stated that "on 3-4 October, Army General Pavel Grachev and his deputies were carrying out specific tasks set by Boris Yeltsin, president and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Russia, and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin." Army General Kobets stressed particularly that the Russian defense minister was in charge of the armed operations to liberate the White House from the armed rebels.

Militia's Performance During Crisis Questioned

PM0810153193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Igor Andreyev report: "Moscow Militia, It Seems, Acted Irreproachably"]

[Text] This was the conclusion that could be drawn by journalists who gathered 6 October at 38 Petrovka, where we were met by Militia Major General Vladimir Pankratov, chief of the Moscow Internal Affairs Main Administration.

Having outlined the actions of his subordinates blockading the White House in the days preceding the assault and their tactics and strategy following the start of hostilities, General Pankratov, it seems, was unable to find any major shortcomings in the work of the militia. Moreover, their opponents themselves, judging from the account given by the chief of the Internal Affairs Main Administration, spoke so highly of the opposition put up by staffers from the internal affairs organs that Rutskoy promised to shoot Pankratov and a number of other militia officials personally.

It seems that the experience of 1 May was taken into account in the actions of the cordon that was swept aside by the crowd on Smolenskaya Square and pushed back toward City Hall 3 October: The fighters were issued with bulletproof vests. (Which clearly did not help them to fend off their attackers, but did not impede their dash for home at a speed that astonished even fleet-footed journalists.)

Apparently the hasty abandonment of the area around the captured City Hall is referred to as an "evacuation." With a view to regrouping forces that were needed to defend Ostankino. It was precisely this regrouping that prevented them from dispersing the crowds moving toward the television center and intercepting the trucks and buses which, according to the testimony of witnesses, were running back and forth between City Hall and Ostankino. Why did nobody in the capital, which was teeming with State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration staffers, even attempt to stop vehicles carrying armed thugs?—no answer to this question was forthcoming.

I recall very well that it was not the capital's authorities that urged Muscovites to gather in front of Moscow City Soviet, but how come the thousands and thousands of unarmed people who spent the night of 3-4 October on Tverskaya Street were left without the slightest militia reinforcement? Over the entire area between Pushkin Square and the Spasskaya tower in the Kremlin I saw only a handful of State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration officers, apathetically observing what was going on... General Pankratov claims that while the Army was preparing to storm the White House and actually carrying out combat operations, the militia's task was to clear the zone of bystanders in order to minimize casualties. The entire world watched gawkers milling around tanks as they were firing, including some people with small children. Journalists working in the combat zone testify that hundreds if not thousands of curious onlookers were literally getting under the soldiers' feet. Dozens were killed or wounded. Why were these people not "removed" from the battlefield by the militia?

All this does not apply, of course, to those officers who got drenched and frozen in the recent inclement weather, those who were killed or wounded in the days that followed, or those who hunted down and eliminated snipers. All credit to them. But certain questions which have not yet been answered need to be put to key chiefs of the Russian and Moscow militias.

Former Deputy Claims Divisions Refused Grachev's Order

MK0910115293 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 12/14, 8-14 Oct 93 (signed to press 7 Oct) p 3

[Andrey Zhukov report: "Many People Gave Promises. Our Correspondent Talks With Ivan Fedoseyev, Former Russian Federation People's Deputy, Coordinator of the 'Russia' Faction"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Zhukov] Who could the White House supporters count on in addition to Barkashov [no first name as published], the volunteer regiment, and some odd fighters from "Alfa" and "Vympel" (of which Rutskoy himself spoke)?

[Fedoseyev] I can answer your question competently because I worked together with many commanders and visited the Security Ministry the night before the storming. It is true that the officials assured me that their agencies were remaining on the side of the constitution and were not going to take part in any actions intended to stop the operation of parliament. This was stated at a very high level.

As for the military department.... Some of the divisions that received orders fr n the Defense Ministry to march on Moscow were stopped by corresponding commanders and returned to the places where they are permanently stationed. These are the 2nd and the 4th Divisions. They indeed would not carry out Grachev's order. [passage omitted]

Security Chief's Actions During Crisis Viewed

PM1110145193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 3

[Igor Andreyev report containing transcript of conversation between "Democratic Russia" Cochairman Lev Ponomarev and Deputy Security Minister Yevgeniy Savostyanov: "Deputy Security Minister Awaited Order"]

[Text] Back on 5 October the editorial office learned of a telephone conversation between two prominent figures which bears witness at the least to confusion in the leadership of the capital's security organs during the afternoon of 3 October.

At approximately 1600, at the height of the dramatic events, Lev Ponomarev, the well-known politician from the "Democratic Russia" Coordinating Council, phoned through to Yevgeniy Savostyanov, deputy security minister and chief of the Russian Security Ministry Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast. A conversation had taken place, as Ponomarev himself wrote later, "among a circle of people who are fairly close to me." Savostyanov's replies clearly stunned Ponomarev to such a degree that he repeated them aloud to those who were present and commented on them very sharply.

Having received a transcript of the conversation made from memory by a person whom I have known for a long time (of course, the editorial office has his full particulars), I called Lev Aleksandrovich with a request to allow IZVESTIYA to publish the dialogue. Ponomarev confirmed that the conversation had taken place but did not permit its publication because this was a political matter and it was necessary to consult about it. We agreed to talk on the phone the next day... Again Lev Aleksandrovich objected to its being published and gave us to understand that it was actually "Democratic Russia" that had nominated Savostyanov for his post. What is more, MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS had already published part of the conversation, even though Ponomarev had not talked to any of its correspondents. I am writing a refutation, Lev Aleksandrovich said, because MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS quoted the conversation with errors and inaccuracies.

Bound by the pledge it had given Ponomarev, IZVESTIYA has not published the transcript to date, but our colleagues from MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS provided us with the text of Ponomarev's refutation 8 October. Without denying the fact that the conversation took place, Lev Aleksandrovich only doubts that the account of it is faithful...

So here is the transcript of the telephone conservation between L. Ponomarev and Ye. Savostyanov made by a witness at around 1600-1615 hours on 3 October.

[Ponomarev] What is happening in the city?

[Savostyanov] The City Hall has been taken.

[Ponomarev] But what did the cordon do?

[Savostyanov] It went over to the side of parliament.

[Ponomarev] What? The special purpose militia detachment [OMON] has changed sides?

[Savostyanov] The detached special purpose motorized rifle division has.

[Ponomarev] What about the Dzerzhinskiy Division?

[Savostyanov] It also has changed sides.

[Ponomarev] But what do you intend to do?

[Savostyanov] We have no orders.

[Ponomarev] Are there any units faithful to you in Moscow or the environs?

[Savostyanov] None whatsoever.

[Ponomarev] Where is the president?

[Savostyanov] I don't exactly know. He is, no doubt, on the spot.

[Ponomarev] But do you intend to do something? You are after all a deputy minister, head of an administration.

[Savostyanov] We have no orders. We are not criminals and would not act without orders.

[Ponomarev] What do you advise us to do?

[Savostyanov] Get your families to friends and relatives. Where actually are you?

[Ponomarev] At 26 Pushkin Street.

[Savostyanov] Leave the building; it is possible that it will be stormed.

IZVESTIYA has only decided to return to this story because, as the recent bloody events have shown, the security of the state and of its citizens is something much more important than politicians' loyalty to the body they represent, and, to be generous, indulgence toward a department leader who is responsible for our and your peace and who lost his head.

Yeltsin Attends Ceremony, Thanks Servicemen

PM1110130593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Pelts report: "Presentation of Awards"]

[Excerpt] A solemn presentation ceremony took place yesterday in the Grand Kremlin Palace's Vladimir Hall, where a large group of servicemen, militia personnel, and journalists were presented with the highest state awards for honorably performing their military duty, for courage and heroism, and for their devotion to their motherland and people.

Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin delivered a speech before the award presentation began. He stressed that each of the people present in the Vladimir Hall had, under difficult conditions, displayed magnificent traits of character and lofty patriotic, civic, and professional qualities.

Boris Yeltsin said that Russia is primarily a great power because Russia has a wealth of such courageous people capable of heroic actions at crucial moments.

The president stressed that there was a large group of border guards in the Vladimir Hall, men who are performing difficult service on the southern borders of Tajikistan. This summer they withstood a grave, unequal struggle against Tajik gunmen and Afghan mojahedin. Two border guards were awarded the title of Hero of the Russian Federation for their courage and heroism. The order "For Personal Courage" was awarded to 26 people.

Four Navy officers were among the award recipients. In difficult conditions of combat service they also displayed real military skill, courage, and staunchness. They were all awarded the lofty rank of Hero of the Russian Federation.

Thanks to you, President Yeltsin said, addressing participants in the 3-4 October events in Moscow, it proved possible to avert the threat of civil war, thanks to you tranquillity and order are returning to the capital.

The award procedure began after Boris Yeltsin's speech. [passage omitted]

Main Provisions of Draft Military Doctrine Highlighted

MK0910111693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 63, 9 Oct 93 (signed to press 8 Oct) p 1

[Pavel Felgengauer report under the "Secret" rubric: "Military Doctrine. The Defense Ministry Wins a Closed Contest"]

[Text] The Russian Federation's draft military doctrine is expected to be approved on 15 October. This will complete the long and for the most part closed discussion which began back in 1992 at the same time as the creation of the Russian Army.

In November 1992, addressing an enlarged session of the Defense Ministry Collegium, the president demanded "finalizing the elaboration of a military doctrine, which should be publicly discussed and then approved by the Supreme Soviet."

At an extended session of the Security Council on 3 March 1993, President Boris Yeltsin stated that "Russia urgently needs a military doctrine. Further delay is impermissible now." "It is high time!" exclaimed the commanders in chief and commanders who were invited to attend the session.

Now, on 6 October, again at an enlarged Security Council session, the president said: "There must be no more delay over resolving this problem. We have approached the doctrine several times, but various circumstances prevented its detailed discussion and adoption. This time the question must be decided."

Now, however, under the emergency situation, there is no question about the earlier promised "public discussion." The Security Council will approve the military doctrine, after which the president will apparently immediately sign it into law under a special edict.

Until now the Russian Federation's draft military doctrine has been classified, although there are just a few days to go before its full approval. The introduction of final amendments and the debate are also proceeding behind closed doors, in the "narrow circle" of the permanent members of the Security Council. True, the signs are that a basic decision has already been adopted—the Defense Ministry draft was accepted as a basis. This is why General Grachev made a report at the 6 October session of the Security Council.

Yet only a few weeks ago, Security Council apparatus officers say, the main draft was a different one that had long been elaborated in the Security Council itself. In accordance with the instructions at the time from the president about "the speediest possible finalization," the draft was "finalized" by a special working group. It was expected that in October the Security Council would approve the doctrine. After that it was to be declassified and after a public discussion approved by the now defunct Supreme Soviet.

Today everything is different. It is fairly difficult to compare the strong points of the two secret government documents in the conditions of punitive censorship and a curfew. Nonetheless, one of them, according to the authors, has value merely as "literary material."

In its turn, the Defense Ministry's draft is militarily concrete. According to General Grachev, it "formulates the definition of instances" when Russia will use its nuclear deterrent; it defines the character of potential combat operations and therefore the future structure of the army (1.5 million people, a mixed recruitment principle, and mobile forces). The doctrine is of a generally defensive character but offensive actions are not ruled out in case of need.

The text of the new draft military doctrine outlines the main directions of a program for the qualitative upgrading of the Russian Army. The present monstrous diversity in the types of arms systems will be consistently reduced. In view of the difficult economic situation, arms procurement over the next few years will remain at a relatively low level. For the most part funds will go to research and development programs so that in the next century, under different economic conditions, the Russian Army can be equipped with basically new weapons.

Taking into account the experience of the military operation of 4 October in Moscow, an amendment was inserted into the draft military doctrine at the last moment allowing for the use of armed forces to maintain internal security in Russia in the future. If the amendment is adopted, Article 10 of the Russian Federation Law on Defense, which was passed a year ago by the Supreme Soviet and signed by President Yeltsin, will lose force.

The draft doctrine also has a section on social security guarantees for the military: Apartments have been promised to officers, which, without a doubt, is a novelty in the world practice of writing military doctrines.

However, serious analysis of the doctrine will be possible only after its publication, but then it will apparently have already been approved and any amendments will be impossible.

Head of State Arms Export Company Interviewed

LD0910111893 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Experts] [Announcer] All of our listeners will no doubt know full well that rumors and conjecture arise most frequently when reliable information is hard to come by. The arms trade has been a sphere of foreign economic activity that was almost completely secret, and about which any information that came out was very far indeed from being reliable. [passage omitted]

Because of the events in Moscow we missed a small anniversary. It turned out that literally a few days ago the state foreign trade company Spetsvneshtekhnika, that deals with the export and import of armaments and military hardware, marked its 25th anniversary. The company has cooperated with 66 countries in the last quarter of a century, of which 14 have been constant partners. The overall volume of financial operations since 1968 has been 36 billion U.S. dollars, no less. [passage omitted]

Our colleague Vyacheslav Morozov, a correspondent of the Radar studio, helped us to prepare an interview with Major General Valeriy Georgiyevich (Branilovskiy), the president of Spetsvneshtekhnika.

[Begin recording] [Morozov] In recent years Russia has lost influence on the arms market. Is your company also to blame for this?

[(Branilovskiy)] I agree that 1992 and 1993 were very difficult years for military hardware cooperation. We left our old markets. We are now returning to them. On the new markets, we are finding it very difficult because of the very stiff competition. What is more, there is even competition from the political point of view. Are we to blame? Without doubt. So we are altering our forms and methods of working. We are seeking new methods, but this is a state matter. It is a matter for all the departments involved in military hardware cooperation—the defense industry, the Defense Ministry, the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry, and other structures. An integral program for entering foreign markets is needed here, and we are working on this.

[Morozov] What specific things can be said about the entry of Russia, and your company in particular, into the foreign markets in order to, if nothing else, improve the state of affairs.

[(Branilovskiy)] We have supplied a lot of arms and military hardware to foreign countries in the past. They have to be kept in working order. They need to be updated. It is a very interesting field of our activity. The volume of arms purchases has declined because the world is now a different place. Conflicts are being settled peacefully. A very interesting approach is joint scientific-research and experimental design work in the interests of the countries involved. Here we are entering the markets of Western countries, and the markets which were under their influence. We have a very great deal of potential and great achievements. This is an interesting area. Of course, there is the sale of armaments and military hardware for modernizing. But this is very difficult. I stress once again that a unified state program is needed.

[Morozov] What types of arms are most in demand currently?

[(Branilovskiy)] There is enormous interest in our work on air defense and aircraft. There is interest in our missile weaponry in all fields: Ground troops, air force, air defense, and the Navy. We have developed unique things in all this, but they are not items that can be sold in a street market. Political decisions are needed on the part of foreign countries. Much economic work needs to

be done. Much work to advertise military hardware has to be done. We now mount exhibitions. Interest in our Russian weapons is very great. Our job is to preserve Russia's intellectual potential on a level that corresponds with our [word indistinct].

[Morozov] A natural question to ask is whether your company is involved in the arms trade and exports to the countries of the former Soviet Union, where there are always trouble spots, and the CIS countries.

[(Branilovskiy)] Our company is not involved in that sort of thing. Other departments exist for that. We attempt above all to prevent the arms we send to foreign countries from ending up in trouble spots. That is our aim.

[Morozov] Do you not find that the weapons you export return subsequently to Russia or the CIS countries and are used against us?

[(Branilovskiy)] I said that this should be prevented. At any rate, intergovernmental agreements and contracts stipulate that that this must not occur. Secondly, there is monitoring of the use of our weapons in these countries by our side, on the part of the Foreign Affairs Ministry and other organizations. Naturally, if we have information that such a thing is taking place, we make the necessary approach to the government bodies of these countries, but as they say, thank God it happens only very rarely. [end recording]

Media Issues

Journalists Detained, Beaten by MVD Troops

PM0810140793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 93 First Edition p 3

[Vadim Belykh report: "MVD Officers Settle Accounts With Journalists"]

[Text] Some employees of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI and OGONEK were beaten up and spent the night in prison. "This is only the beginning," officers of the internal affairs organs warned MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI journalist Aleksandr Kokotkin and his colleague from OGONEK, Aleksandr Tsyganov, at a cross examination in the "Matrosskaya Tishina" detention center.

Both reporters were working near the White House 4 October. Somewhere around 1300 hours they were met on Rochdelskaya Ulitsa some 200 meters from the scene of events by a column of armored personnel carriers carrying servicemen—they were told subsequently—of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops.

"What the... are you doing walking about here?" the men in flak jackets greeted the masters of the pen, and, without awaiting an answer, dealt them each a slap in the face.

After checking the journalists' documents, they told them that they would now take them to some kind of headquarters, where they would continue the investigation. They were forced to walk alongside the APC's... In the words of Aleksandr Kokotkin, all this was reminiscent of the old punishment of making miscreants "run the gauntlet." Virtually one in three of the guardians of order who crossed their path tried out on them the fistfighting techniques in which the Motherland has trained them. They met many "guardians," who beat the employees of the weekly and the magazine about the head and in the groin and aimed kicks at them.

This was especially painful for Aleksandr Kokotkin, who had in the past suffered a very serious spinal injury. At the end of this gauntlet the aforementioned "headquarters" awaited the journalists; in fact it turned out to be an ordinary avtozak (vehicle for transporting prisoners), No. 65-15 MKM.

By 1300 hours the "haul" in the vehicle was fairly large, and new arrivals were being crammed in twos into cells designed for one.

But before ending up in the steel box, Aleksandr Kokotkin and Aleksandr Tsyganov were subjected to yet another torture. People in militia uniform placed them up against a wall, seized all their belongings from them, and thrashed them with their rifle butts. Timid words to the effect that they were representatives of the press and were going about their business provoked only new outbreaks of animosity from the "staff" officers. Something like one hour later the captive journalists were taken away to the "Matrosskaya Tishina" detention center.

They were "booked" according to the full procedures. They were stripped naked, fully searched, and their fingerprints were taken. Then they were photographed—moreover, according to the captive journalists' observations, not once, like the other passengers in the avtozak, but twice. Then a list was made of their confiscated belongings. During this it emerged that, in the process of detention and the immediate investigative actions, Kokotkin had lost $30, a lighter, cigarettes, and a train ticket, and Tsyganov 50,000 rubles, a watch, and a leather cap. When they asked what had happened to all these things, they were invited to keep quiet, their statements were taken, and they were promised that this was only the beginning.

Then the men from MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI and OGONEK were looked after by security guard lieutenant No. 21, a man of small stature. Making no effort at dissemblance, this officer called the journalists "swine," demanded that they keep their hands behind their backs, and thrashed them on the legs with a nightstick.

The last time that day that the reporters were beaten was when they attempted to refuse to give blood for AIDS testing with the aid of a reusable syringe.

Around 1600 hours they were shoved into different cells—there were about 50 people in each. The reporters recollect that the mud and stench in them was incredible. At first sight the prisoners were a motley crew: wounded people, those who had carried away the wounded, small boys, and casual passersby. There were around five who looked like gunmen. All this left an abiding impression that the MVD organs had sent out a routine quota for the number of detainees.

They also discovered colleagues of theirs behind bars—RIA-NOVOSTI correspondents and an NBC reporter who had turned up outside the White House without documents. According to the RIA representatives, they had not been beaten, but the man from NBC replied evasively and seethed with rage.

Somewhere around 2130 the team of journalists were dragged out of the cells and told: "Well, guys, we're nice people and have decided to let you go free." But the long-awaited freedom proved to be still a long way off. The detention center officers searched for two hours for their things in the general heap of odds and ends taken from detainees that day. Then the curfew began and the reporters were given a choice of returning to the cells or spending the night on benches in the prison club. They chose the benches. They left "Matrosskaya Tishina" only on the morning of 5 October.

In the words of Andrey Kokotkin, whose face is now adorned by a black eye, he has never before been treated in this way. He has many bumps on his head, an amazingly swollen ear, and a suspected fractured coccyx. The journalist has been in South Ossetia, the Dniester Region, Tbilisi, and Tajikistan, but this is the first time he has picked up such a collection of wounds...

Russian TV Chairman Recalls Crisis Coverage

LD0810224393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1622 GMT 8 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Oct— Thanks to Russian Television [RTV], TV screens did not go off during the events on 3 and 4 October. It was the second channel that mainly prevented a news vacuum, but addressing a news conference today, RTV chairman Oleg Poptsov did not resort to an elevated style. "We were simply doing our professional duties," he said.

Oleg Poptsov said the company's management had predicted the aggravation of the situation and promptly prepared a back-up television channel. After "Ostankino" went off the air they immediately got permission from the Russian Ministry of Communications to take over the management of broadcasting.

According to eyewitnesses, the "Vesti" bulletin made one of the coup leaders exclaim: This is the end! The RTV chairman said that while materials were in preparation, new back-up television channels were being prepared at the same time so that television broadcasting would not be interrupted under any circumstances. Moreover, the work was carried out without any protection, the military and equipment came late at night.

According to the RTV management, the situation demands that the country's leadership take urgent measures concerning technical equipment and development of the company. No appeals to commercial structures were made at the news conference, no bank account numbers were given. But one would like to think that people concerned about democratic changes will reach their own conclusions.

Censorship Abolished After Poltoranin Protested

LD0810220393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A correspondent from the POSTFACTUM agency has learned that the preliminary censorship of the mass media introduced in Moscow along with the state of emergency was abolished by Boris Yeltsin after Mikhail Poltoranin voiced his protest to the Russian Federation president in a private conversation.

Editor of Banned Newspaper Interviewed

LD0810200493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 8 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Nikolay Ivanov] The staff of the GLASNOST newspaper held an impromptu news conference today at the sealed entrance to the editorial office. In the opinion of the staff of the publication, the authorities had no grounds to close the newspaper because GLASNOST was not published for several weeks before the October events.

The sealing of the entrance was preceded by the arrival on Monday of a number of people who, without showing any documents, broke down office doors, removed documents, and intimidated the staff of the newspaper.

GLASNOST, which has been published since 1990, has been subjected three times to such measures. On the first occasion the newspaper was closed by the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

[Yu.Izyumov, editor in chief of GLASNOST] We will now try to get a legal declaration of our rights. On Monday I made an official statement to the procurator of the city of Moscow demanding that criminal proceedings be instigated for the raid on the editorial offices.

Government Allocates 1 Billion Rubles to News Agencies

LD0810223093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1541 GMT 8 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—The Russian Government has decided to allocate 1 billion roubles in 1993 to the Russian information agency "Novosti", the ITAR-TASS news agency, the all- Russia state teleradio company, and the Russian state teleradio company "Ostankino" for the organisation of programmes and reports on elections to the state duma of the federal assembly of the Russian Federation.

Funds will be allocated as one-time payments at the expense of the republican budget.

A resolution to allocate funds was adopted following a proposal made by the press service of the Russian Government, said Valentin Sergeyev, head of the press service. He pointed out that the forthcoming election campaign would considerably trigger the demand for collecting information, its analysis and making it public by the mass media, which has prompted the need to allocate additional funds to finance the mass media.

'Vesti' Returns to Ostankino Studio 9 Oct

LD0910145593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] I am very pleased to be able inform our viewers that starting from this bulletin we are once again working in our Ostankino studio, and this is largely thanks to the he'p we have received from our colleagues from the technical back up service of the Ostankino Television Center. Even on that fatal night they stayed with us to the last minute.

Although, as you can understand, the urgent move to a different building and the no less urgent move back to the television center was accompanied by all sorts of purely technical difficulties. Over the past few days we have twice had to move with all our equipment, wires and cassettes so I apologize in advance for any slip-ups in this and the next few bulletins.

ITAR-TASS Reviews Itogi News Program

LD1110070993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0555 GMT 11 Oct 93

["Review of the television news program Itogi"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 11 ITAR-TASS—The traditional Sunday night news and analytical television programme Itogi made its debut in a new quality yesterday, appearing under the aegis of independent television on channel five (St. Petersburg).

Newscaster Yevgeniy Kiselev said the situation in Russia had changed most dramatically in the three weeks since the programme went off the air. "We are now living in a different country", he said.

Commenting on the tragic events of October 3 and 4, Kiselev said civil war was waged in Moscow for two days. He said that even before President Boris Yeltsin announced his decision to dissolve the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet and to call elections to a new legislature, it was clear to many people that the outcome of confrontation between the two branches of power, between supporters and opponents of radical reforms in Russia, depended on the stance of the army and other force structures. Kiselev said the struggle for the control of these structures formed the pivot of all developments after September 21.

As concerns the events which took place on October 3-4, Itogi screened a documentary film shot in Moscow's streets on those days without comment.

"The rift which makes blood flow has not subsided. It is only benumbed", historian Mikhail Gefter said. "To let it remain mute would be a terrible mistake, would be tantamount to turning this episode of a civil war into a permanent, latent state of readiness for it (war)".

Gefter called for setting up an independent commission for collecting all available information about the events, survey different people and take down their testimony and recollections.

First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar appeared on the programme. According to him, there was no ground to believe late on October 3 that the militia and the interior troops had sufficient means to "suppress the mutiny reliably and promptly". Specifically, Gaydar referred to his call to Muscovites to take to the streets to protect democracy and said "it was a measure aiming to mobilise public support. If the need had arisen, we were prepared to issue arms to squads which showed their efficiency in August 1991, that is organise forces, able and ready to defend democracy. At the same time the call was very important for a breakthrough in the situation, for influencing the position of the force structures".

As concerns the coverage of the violence by the media, Itogi noted that what the militants led by Makashov and Anpilov were unable to do in the Ostankino television broadcasting centre, was successfully accomplished by Ostankino Company Chairman Vyacheslav Bragin who did not only prohibited to move television cameras to the windows in both buildings of the television centre in order to show the battle live but ordered the cancellation of broadcasting on all channels".

Responding to Kiselev's questions, Russian Finance Minister Boris Fyodorov said that the government's flops in ensuring reforms were not connected with the

struggle between the government and the Supreme Soviet, but were due to "the clashes between the two ideologies, between two economic systems." According to the minister, "they who will be able to reform the economy, will win politically and take power".

Moscow's military commandant Aleksandr Kulikov said in an interview with Itogi that "about five snipers" were seized during clashes, along with other people who used automatic guns to shoot from the roofs of some buildings. Kulikov added that "it would be illogical to attract such forces from across Russia and not to use them in helping to restore order to Moscow" in the present criminal situation. Nonetheless, Itogi said, the level of crime continues to grow in Moscow.

Itogi host Yevgeniy Kiselev cited informed sources as saying that President Boris Yeltsin was now pondering a very difficult question about "whether the logic of the development of the political situation is conducive to putting off the presidential election until the middle of next year". Kiselev suggested that there was a point in bringing the re-election closer, now that the president's rating is up again and the opposition "is sure to Remain in a state of demoralisation and disorganisation" for some time to come.

Kostikov Call for Press 'Restraint' Challenged

PM1110101993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Taranov: "President's Press Secretary Urges Press To Display Restraint. Press Wants To Know the Truth"]

[Text] On 7 October V. Kostikov, the Russian president's press secretary, issued a statement saying that individual mass media are distributing dubious stories concerning the position of the army and Defense Minister P. Grachev during the October rebellion.

On behalf of the president V. Kostikov stated that the army, the Defense Ministry, and the minister himself fulfilled their mission in full and were equal to their civic and soldierly duty. In this connection the president once more urges the press to display restraint and "not to give space or air time to deliberate or unwitting provocateurs..."

While fully supporting the press secretary in assessing the army's role in suppressing the putsch, it must nonetheless be noted that far from everything is yet known about the October coup. Questions of the bloody night of Sunday through Monday still remain in the public awareness and it is the professional duty of the press, as it is of the authorities, to use their efforts and means to investigate and make public all details of what happened.

But it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain information from top state officials. The "top" officials in ministries and departments have been reliably fenced off from journalists by their aides and secretaries, consultants and advisers, who invariably dispatch reporters to press centers, which in turn have no information of any substance.

Yet tens of thousands of people took part in the October events and each has his own evidence of the authorities' actions—evidence gained through suffering. In by no means every respect does this evidence coincide with official assessments. And the fact that the press has published some of this evidence and raised questions which perturb all society is normal and can in no way be described as offering a platform to "provocateurs."

Paper Defends Stance as Objective 'Messenger'

PM1210105593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Regarding the Messenger"]

[Text] The editorial office received a call from an irate reader yesterday: "Stop your swinish attacks on the president!..." Snarling something unprintable, the reader hung up.

If only he were the only one....

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is being told to urgently "decide where it stands": Are we "for the Bolsheviks or for the communists"!

We are for observing the Law on the Press. In a situation when publication of so-called "opposition" newspapers has been suspended, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has suddenly found itself on the "right" of the news spectrum, but this, in our view, in no way means that the editorial office should urgently change its views. We have the same interests as millions of our readers—to objectively inform citizens about what is happening and to give ordinary citizens and people in authority a chance to express their views, which (although sometimes diametrically opposed) reflect the feelings and views of all of society's social groups.

There is no point blaming the messenger.

Media Urged To Promote Political Dialogue

PM1110125193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 3

[Nikita Vaynonen article under the "TV-accent" rubric: "A Window on the War? A Window on Peace"]

[Text] Many fine and even exalted words have been spoken about the work of journalists during the days of the putsch. True and correct things have been said. Without them democracy might have been the loser. They gave their lives that Russia and the world might see one of the central events of the century. The film of those events is still white hot, but by tomorrow these pictures will already be invaluable historical evidence. Our descendants will watch them and listen to them and

perhaps consider and study them for many decades to come, but today the window on this brief civil war is already opening up into a window on tomorrow's peace. On this page we are describing journalists' daily exploits which have involuntarily been transformed into heroic feats. The shadow of the tragedy which befell the country hangs over them. Many of our colleagues died and even Vladimir Tsvetov, who died in distant Japan in the past days, will also remain in our consciousness as a victim of the tragedy: Such upheavals do nothing to lengthen a life...

Nevertheless, it is necessary to think about our present and our future. One lesson of Bloody Sunday is the vast and totally unprecedented role of the press in the course and outcome of the events. If we allow the politicians to rip the press to shreds again, then what we will get in December instead of democratic elections will be either the semblance of them or else a new "revolutionary situation" incited by brawling on the air waves (the newspapers are not so influential). The full danger of that parody of pluralism is now beginning to unfold—a parody which the former parliament planned to legitimize when it demanded **equal** air time conditions for **all** political parties and movements. It is clear that there simply is not enough time before the elections to translate into the language of legal documents the answer to the question: What does equality mean in this situation and how is it to be achieved? Is air time to be given to all equally? In proportion to the number of members? According to poll rating? Yet there is one far more important and difficult question to be answered here: How are we to avoid turning the election campaign into a new brawl on the air waves? Given our confused state of mind, the overabundance of parties, traditionally powerful populist sentiments, and all this at a time when measures inevitable for the salvation of the economy and reform are weighing on the electorate's shoulders—in these conditions bitterness could easily erupt with renewed force, and undoubtedly there are people who even now are assigning to the TV screen the role of the match applied to the hay stack.

I think that in the runup to the election television should not present a stream of political monologues, in which everyone says what he wants and ignores what others are saying, or, on the contrary, tries to belittle or slander the others. If that happens, the viewers will either be drawn into another war or else will take fright and cease believing anyone—this time for ever. Whether or not a counterbalance to this danger will be found depends on us journalists and above all on television and radio journalists. I am not going to talk about any concrete forms of work on the air waves, but the principles of it, I think, could be as follows. First, the most rigorous observance of the Law on the Press. If anyone abuses freedom of speech they should be granted no more air time but should immediately be called to account and extensive publicity be given to the punishment. Second, there must be a firm preference given to dialogues and "polylogues" over monologues: Only that way is it possible to inculcate in politicians the ability to listen to one another and exchange arguments instead of exchanging fire for effect. Only that way will we be able to achieve a viable parliament. This is 50-percent—at least!—dependent on the press.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Denies Receiving Subsidies

MK1010065893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

[Refutation by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA under the "Refutation" rubric]

[Text] In the "Krasnyy Kvadrat" [Red Square] program, which Ostankino aired on Saturday, 2 October, M.N. Poltoranin told television viewers that NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, among other papers, currently receives subsidies from the state budget. This absolutely does not correspond to reality. In the period from May to August last year, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA received approximately 9 million rubles of such subsidies, but then the Russian Federation Press Ministry stopped offering them to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA and we did not ask. Since then NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has not received a single kopeck of tax payers' money either through the state budget or any other channel.

Press Ministry To Bring Charges Against Censored Papers

MK0910082893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

["N.B." report under the "Press" rubric: "Echoes of Censorship"]

[Text] A POSTFACTUM news agency correspondent has learned from sources close to the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office that a meeting was planned for 1500 [Moscow time] yesterday between the new Russian Federation General Prosecutor Aleksey Kazannik and Vladimir Shumeyko, the new acting press and information minister of the Russian Federation, to discuss the relationship between the press and the authorities in the present situation in the Russian Federation Ministry of the Press building.

It was proposed during the meeting to look into the materials of some of the newspapers and magazines whose publication has been suspended (DEN, PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, etc.). The POSTFACTUM correspondent has learned that the Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Information will submit to the General Prosecutor's Office a detailed analysis of newspaper and magazine publications on 2-3 October 1993, as well as an analysis of the materials taken out by censors at the time censorship was in effect, with the view to instituting administrative as well as criminal proceedings against the authors and corresponding editors for their incitement to rebellion and

other illegal actions punishable under the corresponding article of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation.

Kiselev Outlines Broadcasting Plans for NTV

LD1010121893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0925 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Independent Television [Nezavisimoye Televideniye], or NTV, begins broadcasting for the first time today on Channel 5 [St. Petersburg Television]. Our correspondent Polina Grineva has spoken to Yevgeniy Kiselev, the well known television announcer.

[Begin Kiselev recording] NTV is a genuinely independent television station. Our company is called the NTV Television Company [Telekompaniya NTV]. Everybody is free to interpret that abbreviation as they like: Some will see NTV as independent television and some as non-state television, new television, or our television.

We are definitely beginning on the St. Petersburg channel today. We are due to go on the air, and we invite all those who like our program ["Itogi"] to tune in an hour earlier, at 2100 [1800 GMT]. We will be on the air for exactly an hour. "Itogi" will go out every Sunday evening, as before.

On other days, from Monday to Friday, also at 2100—this means we will be providing stern competition for "Novosti" on the [Moscow Ostankino Television's] first channel—we will carry a program called "Segodnya," which will be presented by [former Ostankino TV announcers] Tatyana Mitkova and Mikhail Osokin. On Saturday, also at 2100, we will have a special news bulletin called "Namedni," a very popular program in the past, which is being revived under the auspices of our company by Leonid Parfenov.

Of course, our audience has shrunk by comparison with what we had when we were on Ostankino's first channel. Nevertheless, we will still reach millions of Russians: not just residents of Moscow and Leningrad [as heard], but also people in many other cities. Not everybody knows that St. Petersburg television now reaches Chita.

"Itogi", "Segodnya," and "Namedni" will probably display even greater professionalism and an even higher quality of work on the part of their journalists. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Communications Ministry on Ostankino Attack

LD1010161393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The editorial office today received a statement from the Russian Federation Ministry of Communications. It says that, in connection with the unscrupulous speculations that have appeared in some sections of the media, about the switching over on 3 October of the First Channel to the system of the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company, that occurred under the situation of an attack by bandits on the Ostankino television center. The Ministry of Communications states that it assesses these actions by the management of the Ostankino Television and Radio Company as professionally correct, rational, and the only possible ones in those conditions and coordinated with the Ministry of Communications in all the most important elements. The staff of the ministry are delighted at the courage and steadfastness of the journalists, engineering, and technical staff of the Ostankino Television and Radio Company and the communications workers who ensured that programs were broadcast.

Ostankino Chief Comments

LD1010143193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Vyacheslav Bragin, chairman of the Ostankino Television and Radio Company, has sent a letter to President Boris Yeltsin in which he points out that, acting on prearranged conditions from the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company, the Ministry of Communications, and other government bodies, at approximately 2030 on 3 October the first Ostankino channel was temporarily shut down from broadcasting via the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company system. This allowed the possibility of informing all Russian regions of the events that were happening to be fully maintained and also to create conditions for the evacuation of journalists and engineering and technical personnel from any subsequent hostilities. The first channel was brought back on the air in its former regime at 1200 on 4 October.

In connection with various fabrications regarding the temporary and forced extreme conditions of the closing down of the first television channel, which have been systematically circulated, in particular in broadcasts of the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company, which are deluding public opinion and questioning my honor, Bragin writes, I ask you to set up a special commission to examine and appraise my actions as chairman of the Ostankino Television and Radio Company at the time indicated and to publish the results of the investigation in the media.

Shumeyko on Press Censorship, PRAVDA Closure

LD1010223993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian in its extended "Novosti" newscast at 1900 GMT on 10 October carries a three-minute interview with Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy prime minister and minister of the press of the Russian Federation, by Sergey Alekseyev.

Shumeyko says that there were various different interpretations of recent events from people who were far

away from them. Concerning censorship, he says it is provided for under the law on the emergency. Commandant Lieutenant General Kulikov has the right of punitive censorship and if a publication contains a direct call for the overthrow of the state power, for ethnic strife, and the like, then he can censor it. He can also exercise preliminary censorship but we have agreed not to establish this censorship, he states. The president has said that the events do not permit him to stifle freedom of speech.

Asked about opposition publications, he says these are not strictly opposition but criminally punishable. It is not a question of the journalists but the leadership of the editorial offices. The commandant has submitted to the Ministry of Justice material under which the publications are closed. We are preparing lawsuits, Shumeyko says, and once the curfew and emergency are over the question of these publications will be decided in legal fashion.

Asked if PRAVDA is closed forever, he says most likely it is closed forever.

First Independent TV Channel Begins Broadcasting

LD1010100093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] The first independent television channel in Russia is to begin broadcasting today. Its organizers stress that it will give journalists the opportunity to express their views freely and will thereby promote political stabilization in the country.

Editor in chief Oleg Dobrodeyev declared that the programs will be prepared in Moscow but broadcast on the St. Petersburg channel.

Election Issues

Filatov Interviewed on Federation Council Election

LD1110230593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2035 GMT on 11 October carries a nine-minute unscheduled recorded interview with Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential administration, by an unidentified correspondent.

Asked about today's presidential decree on elections to the Federal Assembly, and about the changes which have come about in its initial conception, Filatov says that the original idea of a federation council composed of heads of administration and leaders of executive and representative power bodies was discarded after many local soviets discredited themselves by choosing the wrong side in the recent disturbances in Moscow. In order that the State Duma does not consist of one chamber only, however, simultaneous elections to the State Duma and the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly should be held. He says:

"We could end up with one chamber of a State Duma. In order that that should not happen, elections to both chambers have to be held simultaneously, both to the State Duma and to the Federation Council, so we can pass over, jump over that transitional period people were talking about before."

Political problems must be settled finally, Filatov says, in order that a full effort can be devoted to economic reform. He says that 12 December must be a date for a conclusive decision of political issues.

"Basically we have to move toward a full settlement of all our problems on 12 December. I have already spoken about this. Many people are now appealing to the president, proposing that the constitution of the Russian Federation should be subject to referendum on 12 December as well, in order that the bodies should become legitimate, to draw the constitutional line so that the Federation Council and the State Duma and all the other bodies at a federal level should already be working according to the new acting constitution."

Speaking about the Federation Council, Filatov points out that two representatives will be elected from each region. There cannot be fewer than two, he says, because some republics contain two nationalities of equal importance, for example Kabardino-Balkaria. A regional chamber will allow the State Duma to be made up half of a regional section and half of a socially representative section, Filatov says.

Asked about the formation of the Federation Council, and Yeltsin's changing attitudes to it, Filatov says that until 21 September none of the regions concerned had opposed it initially, but the Supreme Soviet had later attempted to hold up its formation.

"The Supreme Soviet got involved, and a process of rolling back began, when the soviets started trying to slow down the organization of this body with all their might. Look: after the 21 September, when the decree on holding elections to a new parliament was signed, look at the leaps and bounds many soviet leaders made to set up the Federation Council. But set it up for what? To slow up the elections, or change them altogether, they thought up a scheme whereby the president is elected as well, and so on. Effectively, they tried to set this body up as a counterweight to the president's actions."

He goes on to say that following the Moscow disturbances, it became clear that the Federation Council had to be elected rather than drawn from officials.

"I would say that we went through several stages in setting up this Federation Council, and now we came to realize that it must be elected. It cannot be created from officials, those officials who discredited themselves during those days."

On forthcoming elections, Filatov criticizes legislation introduced by the Supreme Soviet, calling it contradictory and unproductive. Now that the Supreme Soviet is

no longer in a position to be obstructive, Filatov says, progress in economic reform will be much quicker. If people who are as trusted by the electorate as the president is are elected to a new representative body, progress will be that much quicker.

"Let us hope that the new people coming in, ones who really are trusted by the people, just as the president is trusted, will find the cooperation that will allow us to move toward all the economic processes more intensively."

Comments on Draft Constitution

LD0810200193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] The draft of a new constitution may be put up for a referendum during elections to the Federal Assembly on December 12. Such a possibility was voiced by the presidential administration chief Sergey Filatov at a news conference in Moscow on Friday.

In his words, "there is a proposal to hold a referendum on a constitution along with elections to the State Duma on December 12."

He announced that the Constitutional Conference would continue its work within the next few days to complete the draft constitution by November 5. He reported that such key Russian Federation republics as Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Udmurtia, and Karelia had decided to take part in elections to Duma.

As for plans to restructure the republican administrations, the center, as Filatov explained, will not press this process since it is up to the republics to restructure their authorities.

Recalling the events in Moscow on October 3-4, he noted that the government and state leadership had no plan to assault the White House. "We tried not to give any pretext for aggravating the situation and, for this reason, did not commit troops in advance, nor did we set such a task," he said.

"However," Filatov continued, "when we learned that instead of the authorized arsenal of 100 automatic rifles and 500 pistols there were no less than 1600 automatic rifles and 2000 pistols, 20 machine guns, 10 grenade launchers, and mines, the situation got really serious."

After the militants seized the Mayor's Office and attacked the Ostankino TV Center, the President ordered troops into Moscow to "crush this gang," Filatov said.

He told journalists that Honor Guard No 1 would be transferred to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier from Lenin's Mausoleum on Red Square, where it had been for nearly 69 years.

In his words, there have been numerous requests to return Red Square to its original appearance.

Asked about Sergey Shakhray's possible resignation, Filatov replied that the matter has not been brought up at the official level. He said that he shared Shakhray's concern but would not like to see such a brilliant politician as Shakhray step down.

Presidential Aide on Elections

LD1110205893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Interview with Nikolay Medvedev, head of the Presidential Administration's Department on Work with Territories, by correspondent Yevgeniy Fateyev; place and date not given from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Before he left Moscow, President Yeltsin signed a document today that merits serious attention. He appointed elections to the Federation Council of the Russian Federal Assembly. The press service of the head of state reported that the respective decree was signed today.

By the same decree, the president transformed the Central Election Committee for Election to the State Duma into the Central Election committee for Election to the Federation Council and the State Duma of the Federal Assembly. Columnists are already noting that Boris Yeltsin has taken another decisive step: Appointed simultaneous elections to both chambers of the future parliament--the State Duma and the Federation Council. Today, our correspondent asked the president's administration to explain.

[Medvedev] I can dwell on certain points connected with this decree. First of all, it was an absolute necessity. Why? Because the Federation Council, which consists of heads of representative and executive systems of power of the subjects of the Federation, could be in the top chamber only during the period when the respective soviets, i.e. the oblast and kray soviets, were in power. As of today, this period will last, well, at the most another year and a half, then the terms will end.

[Fateyev] And in addition many soviets are now self-dissolving.

[Medvedev] Well, now there are these points of contention as well. But I think that the reason for the president's decree was not determined by this only and even not so much by this. The main reason is different: After the bloody events, frankly, the situation in the country has changed, and it is very important now for a vibrant and competent parliament to start working.

[Fateyev] But the heads of the subjects of the Federation could hardly have rejoiced at the fact that now they will not occupy soft chairs in the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly.

[Medvedev] Most of the heads of executive power with whom I talked after the decree had been issued had adopted a perfectly correct attitude, and even approved such a decree, because they understood that, in principle,

their status in the Federation Council as persons appointed by the president was, let us say, rather ambiguous. Well, of course, many chairmen of soviets who, let us say, intended to come to the new parliament, as I see it, not really to work, but for political speculations and to satisfy political ambitions, that was the level, then these, of course, were upset and will be upset. I think that it should be understood now that everything that has happened during the tragic days in the capital of our motherland must have a sobering effect on everybody.

Regional Experts Confer on Duma Elections

PM0810134593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Lyubov Tsukanova report: "Central Electoral Commission Works With the Regions"]

[Text] The planned working session of the Central Electoral Commission on the election of deputies to the State Duma was held 5 October with the participation of official representatives of the Federation members. We were informed by the Central Electoral Commission press center that over 60 regional representatives were present at the conference. Practically all the absentees had informed the Central Electoral Commission that they could not come because of transportation problems but would arrive in the next few days. Only two or three regions explained the absence of their representatives by saying that the local soviets were "still discussing" the question of holding discussions. But no principled political refusal to participate in the work of the Central Electoral Commission came from any of the Federation members.

The regional representatives (as a rule these were people involved in the organization of previous elections earlier and acquainted with the information and the methods) brought with them packages of documents necessary for the organization of an election campaign. Some of the specific questions, the Central Electoral Commission reported, have already been settled, while the others are being settled now. Following the conference, the people from the localities are working in appropriate working groups together with members of the Electoral Commission and experts.

It is planned that the borders of the electoral districts will be determined by the end of the week, and the layout of these will be published at the beginning of next week. Difficulties are arising in connection with the change in the number of seats. A solution is being sought that will reduce the "redrawing" of electoral districts to a minimum. The number of voters is based on figures from April, when the referendum was held, and the necessary adjustments are being made.

The Central Electoral Commission conference involving representatives of the Federation members will serve as a starting point for the formation of electoral districts in the localities. The question of which organs of power will be involved in this has not been settled yet, but, judging by the interest of the official regional representatives and the fact that they are ready for concrete work, the regions are prepared to be involved in the election campaign, and the question of making a specific organ of power, whether representative or executive, responsible for these duties is organizational, rather than one of principle.

Elections Seen as Sign of 'Democratic' State

LD1110181493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1645 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—The decision of President Boris Yeltsin to hold elections to the Upper Chamber of a new Russian parliament on December 12, together with earlier announced elections to the Lower Chamber, was evidently aimed to avoid accusations of authoritarianism and dictatorship against him.

The decision was completely unexpected for the central vote-counting commission. Its spokesman Aleksandr Bukhvalov refused to give any comments saying only that the commission has not received the text of the presidential decree and has no provisions on elections to the Federation Council, the Upper Chamber.

After the armed rebellion of the opposition was suppressed and the parliament ceased to exist, Yeltsin ruled that he would appoint heads of local administration himself and urged local soviets to dissolve themselves.

The Upper Chamber of a new parliament was not planned to be elected initially. It was to include two people from each subject of the Russian Federation - heads of the administration and of the soviet. The question arose whether it would be possible to democratically form the Upper Chamber when all soviets are dissolved and heads of administration are Yeltsin's people.

The question could trigger bitter criticism of the president who had already heard warnings against authoritarianism and dictatorship voiced even by the democratic press of late.

Now the Upper Chamber is to be elected. It can be presupposed that the election mechanism will be the same as to the Lower Chamber - the State Duma - with the only difference. Elections will be held according to the majority system without any political party lists.

Such a mechanism can suit Yeltsin most of all. After he had banned hard-line parties and movements a considerable part of the population (one third according to certain estimates) remained without a candidate to the Lower Chamber which could mount tensions in society. It would be better for the president to balance the situation by introducing "soft" terms for elections to the Federation Council.

It cannot be ruled out either that, at the last moment, Yeltsin will allow certain leftist parties to participate in elections according to their party lists and would thus avoid any criticism at all.

The decision on full parliamentary elections shows that Yeltsin remains adherent to his course of creating a democratic law-governed state in which free elections are the decisive factor.

Yeltsin Aide Calls For Postponing Local Elections

LD1110202293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1718 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Since local elections will be hardly feasible in December 1993, they should "be put off to June."

Speaking with Interfax on Monday [11 October], the Head of the presidential administration's department on work with territories Nikolay Medvedev suggested that December should be limited to parliamentary elections and a referendum on the framework of a new constitution. Medvedev stressed the need for cancelling the early presidential elections, scheduled by Boris Yeltsin for June 12. "If the president feels it is improper to cancel them himself, a new parliament should do so, since we have, in fact, twice chosen the president," Medvedev emphasized.

He is reported to have sent on his department's behalf cables to all Federation constituent Members to explain the essence of the presidential decree "on the reform of the representative branches and local authorities in the Russian Federation."

The cables make it clear that deputies retain their status and possibility to work for their constituents, and executive branches should set up "special structures to make use of the deputies lawmaking potential."

In Medvedev's words, a federal commission is now being formed to draft by October 15 proposals on how to set up new governing bodies in urban and rural areas. He does not rule out that Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray will take over the commission.

On the fate of the soviets in the 31 Federation Constituent Members, which have turned down the presidential decree on gradual constitutional reform, Medevev recalled that each of the leaders of these soviets (7 RF republics among them) had been sent a message on Yeltsin's behalf with a proposal to reconsider his decision within 3 days.

Although the term expired on October 10, only Udmurtia and Karelia had done so. Medvedev believes that the rest should "bear responsibility as collective bodies" for their decisions since "if they had not supported Khasbulatov and Rutskoy in such a crude form, the bloodshed might have been avoided."

Medvedev voiced hope that these Federation authorities would reverse their decisions before the President returned from Japan.

Yeltsin Adviser Favors Later Elections

AU1210092893 Vienna PROFIL in German 11 Oct 93 p 68

[Interview with Georgiy Satarov, adviser to President Boris Yeltsin, by Michael Siegert and Andrey Ivanovskiy; place and date not given: "Like De Gaulle"]

[Text] [PROFIL] Professor Satarov, is it possible to make all the technical preparations for elections in December within the short period of two months?

[Satarov] The election date is unfavorable in every respect and must be shifted. This would satisfy everyone. The only person in Russia who does not agree with that is President Yeltsin. He believes that he would then be accused of usurping power. When it was announced on 21 September, I thought that this date was unrealistic, and I told the president so. My opinion has been confirmed by the latest events in Moscow.

[PROFIL] What did the president say?

[Satarov] He made an angry face.

[PROFIL] You also advised him that he should run for election himself on this occasion.

[Satarov] Yes, in the spring after the referendum, we advised him that he should hold presidential elections at the same time as the elections for deputies.

[PROFIL] Why did Yeltsin not heed this advice?

[Satarov] It is not certain at all which advice Yeltsin will listen to; the elections have not yet been held. When I think back: When I suggested to him to ask the people for their trust, he was categorically against that at first, but then he did it last April. Afterwards, we suggested to him to announce new presidential elections, and he was categorically against that, too. Then he did it: He wants to run for election on 12 June. I do not think that this was my influence on him but rather his political style.

[PROFIL] Now Yeltsin is demanding that the conservative regional soviets dissolve themselves and be elected on 12 December.

[Satarov] It is to be assumed that part of the most conservative soviets will be suspended. The others will get their turn in the course of the overall reform of the regional organs. The new parliament will have to carry out this reform.

[PROFIL] Some republics and areas are already putting their laws above those of the Kremlin. Siberia and the Pacific region are looking toward Japan, toward oversees—is Russia's disintegration not already in full swing?

[Satarov] This is being exaggerated. I know the documents of the Republic of Ural and other regions. They do not say anything about real separatism. The latest events will further dampen such inclinations.

[PROFIL] After the August putsch of 1991, all the Soviet republics wanted to get away from the center.

[Satarov] Comparing August 1991 with October 1993, which is done quite often now, does not work. Before August 1991, no one had any experience with independence. One did not know the negative aspects. In addition, at that time, it mostly involved peoples who had their own state in the past and whose efforts were supported by the international public. This is not the case now.

[PROFIL] What do the regions actually want?

[Satarov] In the regions, there are the old political elites, most of which are still in power. They want one thing, but the new economic elites in the regions want something quite different. The people now have their own interests again. The same goes for the elites in the cities. Yeltsin must now play the different interests against each other, as this is usual for a politician.

[PROFIL] What will happen to the Federation Council, which Yeltsin envisaged as a parliament for the transition period until the new elections?

[Satarov] There will be at least one session of the Federation Council. The Council, however, developed under former political conditions. Unfortunately, Yeltsin has the style of a volleyball player and not a chess player. He is mixing both methods. He has come to realize that now, and I believe that the Federation Council will be slowly reduced.

[PROFIL] Who will be able to run at the elections? The communists have been banned. Will there be an opposition?

[Satarov] Yeltsin finally gets a worthy opposition. The quality of power mainly depends on the quality of the opposition. Several dozen parties have been registered. On the socialist side, there are, for instance, the Socialist Party of the Working People, the Party of Labor, and others. Only marginal parties have disappeared, which do not want to work with parliamentary methods.

[PROFIL] Yeltsin has always had problems with parties. He said that he should actually have his own party, but he did not found one. Does he want to stand above the parties as a Russian De Gaulle, so to speak?

[Satarov] Yes, I believe he now sees the situation in this way. The fact that there is no Yeltsin party is not his personal problem but the problem of Russian democracy.

[PROFIL] Do you think that the homo sovieticus still exists—that is, that there is no basis for a multi-party system?

[Satarov] There is an embryonal party pluralism. The more often we have elections, the sooner parties will develop.

Yeltsin May Move Presidential Election to 1994

LD1110183793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The INTERFAX news agency reports, quoting informed sources in Yeltsin's office, that the date of early presidential elections may be moved from 12 June 1994 to 12 December this year. President Yeltsin will make a final decision on this matter after his return from Japan.

Ryabov Interviewed on Upcoming Elections

PM1110140393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[Interview with N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Central Electoral Commission, by Vladimir Yanchenkov in Moscow 8 October: "The People Themselves Will Decide Russia's Future"]

[Text] The tense election marathon starts in a high-rise building very familiar to Muscovites at 19 Novyy Arbat. This houses the Central Electoral Commission, which has begun its work. Immediately after the publication of the Statute on Elections of State Duma Deputies in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA [published in the 8 October issue] our correspondent met with Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov.

[Yanchenkov] So the clarified statute on elections has been published and the Central Electoral Commission has been formed. What are its first steps and its immediate tasks?

[Ryabov] First a few words about the Central Electoral Commission itself. As is well known, such commissions used to have around 80 members, but in their activity they relied entirely on the powerful structures of the Supreme Soviet apparatus. But our Central Electoral Commission, which has 100-115 members, operates virtually independently, while employing only its own resources. Admittedly, all Central Electoral Commission staffers are very highly skilled people and experienced professionals.

The first steps in organizing the elections have already been taken. The precise borders of the electoral districts, including the single-seat districts, have been determined, and work to draw up maps of these districts is nearing completion. District and ward electoral commissions are being formed, and candidates for chairmen of them are being picked.

Federal [obshchefederalnyy] parties and movements have joined actively in the election campaign. They are forming electoral alliances and deciding their lists of candidate deputies. This is tricky work.

The statute on elections says that the number of candidates on the federal list can exceed the number of deputies to be elected to the State Duma from the Federation electoral district by 20 percent. But it is quite a difficult task to position candidates on this list—who goes in what place—and it is the electoral alliances themselves that will resolve it.

It is also well known that in order to register a federal list of candidates the signatures of at least 100,000 voters must be collected in support of it. Any individual component of the Russian Federation must account for no more than 15 percent of the 100,000 signatures. This is a very important detail of the statute on elections. First, this requirement will mobilize as much as possible the activity of parties and movements in securing the requisite number of signatures, and, second, it will make it possible to reveal the true strength and influence of a specific party or movement, their place in society, and the breadth and depth of their popular support.

[Yanchenkov] In short, there is a tremendous amount of work to do, but not much time before the elections, so to speak...

[Ryabov] Yes, time is short, for we have to form 225 electoral commissions and approve their chairmen. But it is actually a good thing that we have a tight timeframe. In the complex political and social situation prevailing in our country the election campaign cannot be dragged out over a long time, it must be carried out swiftly and dynamically. The quality of the future corps of deputies will depend on clear political positions and the organization of all participants in the election campaign.

[Yanchenkov] The elections will be financed from money appropriated from the republic budget. It will clearly be a considerable sum. In this connection some people believe that the referendums and now the early elections held in Russia are a pleasure we cannot afford...

[Ryabov] At present I cannot give a precise figure for the funds allocated by the state in order to prepare and hold the elections. The figure is being drawn up. But I can say quite definitely that it will be a sizable figure. Elections are expensive. Just imagine: 10-20 alliances may be set up for the federal district alone, each with a list of up to 270 candidate deputies. That is 2,700 candidates who will have to be financed. In addition, it will be necessary to fund the district electoral commissions and candidate deputies for single-seat districts. And what about the funding of ward electoral commissions? There are 100,000 of them!

Yes, some people may think that this is too heavy a burden for the people. And they will remind us that the April referendum cost the state plenty—31 million rubles.

My answer would be this: It is true that democracy is expensive for people. Nevertheless, it is immeasurably cheaper than the price we all would have to pay if the fascism that began to raise its head in Moscow 3-4 October triumphed.

[Yanchenkov] Okay, the Central Electoral Commission, as you have said, acts independently, without relying on any additional structures, as used to happen before. But clearly, the commission nevertheless does need some help?

[Ryabov] Certainly, and we are receiving very active help, for instance, from all the ministries and departments, which are fulfilling the Russian president's edict.

But I would like to stress the following. Many foreign organizations have offered us disinterested assistance in organizing and holding the elections. I have just been brought a telex, let's take a look at it together. Right, okay, the "Interlegan" international charitable foundation for political and legal research is offering its services in the name of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems and is hoping to meet with us. The governments of Sweden, Canada, and other states are offering us help via various governmental and nongovernmental organizations.

The point is that unfortunately we have no experience of holding genuinely democratic elections. But the Western countries have a colossal amount of that kind of experience. The election system there is placed on a very efficient, strictly scientific footing.

Naturally, we are mere infants in this respect. At the moment we have the experience bequeathed by the communist regime and the CPSU, which essentially itself organized and held "elections" in which 99.9 percent of the population unfailingly took part and unanimously "approved" the sole candidate put forward by the party itself. So we have no studies, no real scientific research, no scientific methods, and could not have any. Although, as we know, there were a great many doctoral and candidates' dissertations on topics relating to the Soviet electoral system.

So in this respect we are essentially only in first grade in the school of international parliamentarianism. But I am confident that in time we will firmly find our feet and acquire our own scientific and methodological structures. And the upcoming elections are our first serious test of democratic maturity.

Sobchak Calls For Postponing Parliamentary Elections

LD0910081493 Hamburg DPA in German 0440 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Anatoliy Sobchak, the mayor of St. Petersburg, has called for the postponement of the parliamentary elections in Russia, planned for the beginning of December, until February or March. In an

interview in BILD AM SONNTAG he said that otherwise it will not be possible for the elections to be "prepared sensibly."

It was important to have time to create "the conditions for truly free and democratic elections." In particular, the election of "chance candidates and unknown people" will have to be prevented. For that reason, time was needed to conduct a serious election campaign. It will have to be monitored by the EC and the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and thus also German election observers, to guarantee that it was run in a truly democratic way.

Announces Democratic Reform Movement Formed

LD1010183793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We start the bulletin with the subject of elections.

St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak announced today the formation of the Democratic Reform Movement election bloc, to be headed by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy.

This means that in the course of the election campaign, the Yavlinskiy-Sobchak bloc will fight against the Russia's Choice bloc. The latter, headed by Yegor Gaydar, counts on getting up to 30 percent of votes in the December elections.

Movement's Stance on Elections

LD0910180593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1626 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms will come out at the elections to the State Duma as an independent political force without forming blocks with other political parties and movements. This decision was adopted by the Central Board of the RMDR on Saturday [9 October]. The St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoly Sobchak is to head the list of the candidates to the deputies from the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms, the RMDR chairman Gavriil Popov reported at a press conference on Saturday in Moscow.

In his words, representatives of the RMDR regional organizations oppose the principal agreement to form a block with the Party of Economic Freedom headed by Konstantin Borovoy and the Party of Free Labor (chaired by Ivan Kivelidi), which was reached earlier by the leadership.

Popov himself will not come forward as a candidate at the December elections accumulating his efforts, as he said, at organization of future election campaigns of the RMDR.

Popov has presented main ideas of the RMDR preelection platform which is being revised now. In his opinion, "to return Russia to the space of lawfulness," that is to adopt a new Constitution or a Constitutional Act, is the central problem now. Russia should be a presidential republic in such a variant when the president is the head of the state. Popov also stressed the necessity "to restrain not only the president but the parliament as well."

"We cannot let the election campaign be accompanied by flinging mud at each other," said Popov.

In his opinion, it is necessary to find those countries of the CIS "which want to unite." "If we fail to do this within the present generation which speaks a good language and has an identical mentality, the unification process may last for decades," he said.

Popov also said that it would be a success if the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms gathered 10 percent of votes. He believes that each principal political force will receive the same number of votes. The RMDR intends to propose 150-200 candidates at the elections.

It is necessary to have representative bodies only on two levels, the territorial and regional and on the lowest level with the population up to 5000 people, believes Popov.

Central Electoral Commission Approves Documents, Districts

PM1210102093 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Pelts: "The Central Electoral Commission Is in a Hurry... But It Is Working Smoothly and Productively"]

[Text] The approaching elections to the State Duma (12 December this year) are forcing the Central Electoral Commission to hold working sessions on Sundays. The last such session took place 10 October.

There were four items on the agenda—the discussion and approval of single-seat electoral districts, the outline [skhema] of these districts, the approval of the formats for electoral documents and specimen seals for them, and the estimating of expenditure on the State Duma elections.

Discussion took place on all these items with no particular problems. Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov reported that all the Federation components except Chechnya have already sent the Central Electoral Commission all the documents that are needed for the Duma elections. The delay with the Chechen Republic, according to the chairman, was "due to unreliable communications."

After minor adjustments, the commission approved the format of the electoral documents and specimen seals. Many documents (for instance, the list of voters) preserve their traditional format. All that has been added to the list is a column where the number of the voter's passport or proof of identity will be entered; forms were

also approved for district and precinct electoral commissions' protocols. Incidentally, there will be more than 100,000 of these commissions, and they will begin work 2 November.

Single-seat districts were defined on the basis of the outline contained in the Statute on Elections of Deputies to the State Duma. As a result Moscow gets 15 districts, Moscow Oblast—10, St. Petersburg—eight, and so forth. As is well known, 225 of the 450 Duma deputies are to be elected on the basis of this outline.

Naturally, journalists were interested in the question of the nomination of candidates, particularly from various political parties, movements, organizations, and electoral associations. Nikolay Ryabov stressed that this process will take place strictly in accordance with the Statute on Elections. "It is not up to me to decide whether or not a particular party may nominate its candidate. The lawfulness of their actions is a matter for the Justice Ministry," the Central Electoral Commission chairman stressed. In this connection he noted that his commission's task is strictly to ensure equal rights for all candidate deputies both in the election contest and in the organization of election campaigning on television and radio and other means of mass campaigning.

The estimate of expenditure on the elections surprised many people, the chairman said—170 billion rubles [R]. The lion's share of this will go on expenditure in the republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations—approximately 150-160 billion. The Central Electoral Commission proposes for "itself" to spend only R3 billion. The stunning "cost" of the elections, according to Nikolay Ryabov, is because formerly it was possible to "hide" many items of expenditure behind ministries and departments. But now the Central Electoral Commission is an autonomous organization. And it must make provision for everything—from the candidate deputies' travel expenses to the production of campaign posters, telephone conversations, and telegrams.

Radical Democrats Expected To Dominate Elections

MK0810134293 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 3

[Olga Garbuzova report: "Democrats Hurry to Elections"]

[Text] Yesterday, the Public Committee of Democratic Organizations of Russia unanimously spoke out against postponing elections and suggested that on 11-12 December simultaneous elections to the Federation Council and the State Duma be held. The Economic Freedom Party, which held its congress on 5 October, echoed this call. Following the liquidation of most opposition parties, a threat is looming that the December elections could produce a uniform parliament dominated by the radical democrats.

It is yet uncertain what opposition organizations were banned following the events of 3-4 October. Justice Minister Yuriy Kalmykov's order of 4 October suspended the activity of eight opposition parties and movements. At the same time, according to official reports from the Russian Central Bank's main administration (citing the same ministry), that number is 17. In addition, the KOMMERSANT-DAILY editorial board received a list from official sources including 28 public and political organizations accused of "involvement in the rebellion."

Many democratic parties and movements have called for banning all opposition associations. The Economic Freedom Party demanded at its congress that the activity of all communist and pro-communist organizations be suspended and that the communist ideology itself be proclaimed "criminal." For its part, the Public Committee of Democratic Organizations of Russia demanded that all organizations that failed to support Yeltsin's edict No. 1400 be banned. In this event it is not only the opposition but also the centrists who will be outlawed, thus effectively securing a victory for the radical democrats. Presumably, a few other parties posing as a token opposition may contest the elections along with the radical democrats.

The Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] has already stated its readiness to contest the elections. At the same time, party leaders told your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent that the DPR would go it alone without forming blocs with anybody. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party is also intent on taking part in the elections on its own, and, according to its leaders, it has already collected 40,000 signatures required to field its candidates (although the mechanism of signature raising has not yet been put into operation, as the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission said yesterday). Nonetheless, leaders of some centrist parties and movements continue to insist on postponing the poll and also on holding simultaneous elections for the presidency and the parliament. Vasiliy Lipitskiy, chairman of Civic Union's executive committee, and leaders of the "Renewal" All-Russian Union hold this view.

Democratic Party Leader Confirms Participation in Elections

LD0810190193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 8 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent T. Aldoshina] We are living under a system of autocratic power and are still a long way from honest democratic elections, but the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] will nevertheless take part in these elections. [Video shows DPR leader Travkin addressing meeting.]

DPR leader Nikolay Travkin stated that his party will go to the elections under the slogan From Macro-Programs to Micro-Deeds. We will not keep our head in the clouds,

he said, and will give priority in the economy to small-scale privatization, development of a system of tax allowances, and agriculture reforms. National interests should form the basis of the foreign policy. Which, in Travkin's opinion, will mean, inter alia, that we should no longer rely on foreign aid and move toward partnership-type relations with the United States and the Big Seven countries.

Travkin also stated that censorship of the media was introduced on the very night of the bloody events when his statement, recorded on Russian television, was not broadcast.

[Travkin] I made another statement later, after Gaydar's address. In my view, I cannot imagine a bigger sacrilege. The power which cannot admit that it is incapable of protecting the citizens asks the citizens to come and protect it. What is then the difference between you and Rutskoy or Khasbulatov?

[Aldoshina] Travkin stated that DPR has never called people to barricades and does not intend to do this in the future.

Union of Progress Party To Ballot With Choice of Russia

LD0910154393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1353 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow October 9 TASS—The Union of Progress Party plans to ballot together with the Choice of Russia bloc at the upcoming parliament elections, an organizational meeting of the bloc's pre-election association was told today at the House of the Russian Press.

The Union of Progress Party was created on the basis of the liberal faction of the Democratic Party of Russia to advocate harmonious combination of principles of market economy with Russian realities and traditions.

The Moscow regional organization of the Democratic Russia and some other parties and movements also plan to nominate their candidates to the upcoming bloc congress.

Priest To Stand for Election Despite Synod Ban

LD1010183893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1612 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Co-chairman of the Democratic Russia movement and of the Russian Christian-Democratic Union, priest Gleb Yakunin told Interfax on Saturday [9 October] that he would seek election to the State Duma.

Earlier, the Russian Orthodox Church's Holy Synod had circulated a statement urging priests to abstain from participating in the elections to the representative bodies, especially the federal ones. Such a decision was motivated by the fact that "the deputies' responsibilities will not allow clergymen to fulfill their God-imposed duties."

Yakunin described the Holy Synod's decision as "deeply erroneous" and "unfair". He also said that the Holy Synod's warning that the priests disregarding the ban would be defrocked would not influence his decision to join the election campaign.

Yakunin is planning to participate in the forthcoming elections as a representative of Russia's Choice alliance, and, if the Democratic Russia movement withdraws from it, as a representative of the Democratic Russia movement.

Back in 1979, 59-year-old Gleb Yakunin established the Christian Committee for the Rights of Soviet Believers". In 1979 he was arrested. In 1980 he was sentenced to 5-year imprisonment in a high-security prison and to a 5-year exile. In 1987 he was freed. He is a founder of the Democratic Russia movement. Following his election as a people's deputy, he suspended his priest's duties pending the expiration of his deputy's term.

Deputy Head of Electoral Commission Interviewed

LD1010170693

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1440 GMT on 10 October broadcast the "Panorama" program which includes an 7-minute interview with Aleksandr Vladimirovich Ivanchenko, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, which held a session today.

Ivanchenko begins by saying that all 21 members of the commission had attended the session. He says virtually all federation components have managed to submit their proposals on the division of electoral districts.

The announcer recalls that the commission has approved 225 single-mandate electoral districts, and asks Ivanchenko to explain this term in more detail.

Ivanchenko replies: "As you quite correctly say, there are 225 single-mandate electoral districts, as a result of elections in which one deputy from each will be elected to the State Duma—one district, one mandate. This is not to be confused with the Federation-wide [obshchifederalnyy] electoral district, which encompasses the whole territory of the Russian Federation. For this electoral district as well, 225 deputies will be elected."

Ivanchenko continues: "Federation-wide electoral associations will stand in the federation-wide district, whereas specific candidates will stand in single-mandate electoral districts." He adds that for the time being this only concerns elections to the State Duma. It has been calculated that "between five and 10, maybe more" candidates will be able to run for the mandate in each single-election district, he says.

Asked whether there will be elections to the Federation Council, Ivanchenko says this is "entirely possible". He adds: "The provision on federal bodies of power in the transitional period envisages two chambers in the Federal Assembly, with the Federation Council as the Upper Chamber and the State Duma as the lower chamber, but I think it is entirely possible that there could be direct elections to the Federation Council with two representatives from each Federation component, and this body could become not an appointed one, as proposed in the preliminary version, but an elected one." He agrees this will be a more democratic arrangement.

Asked to comment on Chechnya's refusal to submit its proposals, Ivanchenko says that the Chechen Republic will continue to be regarded as a single electoral district. "Of course it will continue to have a place in the State Duma. These elections can take place on the set date, or on another date. No one is doubting the right to vote of the people of the Chechen Republic."

Ivanchenko continues: "The next stage is the setting up of district electoral commissions in single-mandate districts. That will be our work for next week."

Election Official on Forming Regional Commissions

LD1110140893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1304 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS - "The formation of regional electoral commissions has begun in the Russian Federation," Andrey Beloborodov, head of a group of the Central Electoral Commission for interaction with regional commissions, told ITAR-TASS today.

He said that the number of such commissions, formed in accordance with the number of constituencies, is 225.

"We are not imposing any restrictions on local authorities in the formation of regional commissions, they can carry out their plans as they please provided elections are well organized," Beloborodov said.

"The only question which will have to be coordinated with the Central Electoral Commission is the endorsement in Moscow of candidates to chairmen of regional commissions," Beloborodov said. He added that according to the statute on elections of deputies to the State Duma, such commissions can number from 12 to 18 members.

Beloborodov pointed out that each candidate to the post of the chairman will be individually interviewed. He pointed out that a candidate to the post of the chairman of the regional electoral commission should be a lawyer having a higher education. According to Beloborodov, the nomination of candidates will be completed by October 21.

60 Percent of Muscovites Ready To Vote

LD0910155893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1539 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow October 9 TASS—Some 60 per cent of polled Moscovites are ready to participate in the elections of a new Russian parliament - the State Duma, according to the results of a public opinion poll held by the Mnenie Service.

Forty two per cent of respondents stressed they are determined to vote, eight per cent said they will abstain from participation in the elections, another eight per cent are inclined to abstain from voting and 24 per cent have not decided what to do.

Over half of the respondents (52 per cent) do not remember their former deputy and 28 per cent are not sure of their deputies' names. Each fifth of the polled knows his deputy for sure.

The overwhelming majority of respondents does not like their former deputies. A total of 71 per cent of them think the deputies should not preserve their annual salary and other benefits. But seven per cent approved of this decision.

A total of 1,143 respondents of different age, sex, education and profession participated in the opinion poll.

Poll on Forthcoming Elections Published

PM1110112993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "It Will Be Hard for Former Deputies To Get Into New Parliament"]

[Text] The "Mneniye" service (leader Gr. Pashkov) conducted a telephone poll of 1,143 respondents 4-5 October. The selection is representative in terms of sex, age, education level, and occupation.

If elections of deputies to a new parliament are held 11-12 December, would you go to vote? [figures in this and subsequent tables are presumably percentages of total polled]

	October 4-5	October 1-3
Firm yes	42.3	40.7
Probably yes	17.7	18.6
Don't know yet	23.6	21.5
Probably not	8.2	8.2
Firm no	8.2	11.0

Imagine that the elections of deputies are today. Will you vote for your previous deputy or for any other candidate or will your choice not depend on that?

For previous deputy	4.2
For any other	16.5
Does not depend on that	36.9
Shall not vote	16.1
Don't know	26.3

Will you vote for the candidate who supports Yeltsin or for a candidate you opposes Yeltsin, or will your choice not depend on that?

For pro-Yeltsin candidate	31.0
For anti-Yeltsin candidate	6.5
Does not depend on that	30.3
Shall not vote	12.6
Don't know yet	19.6

Do you think the new parliament will be better or worse than the previous one?

Better	23.2
Worse	5.0
The same	21.1
Other answer	10.7
Don't know	40.0

'Free Elections' Group Alarmed by Unfair Election Prospects

MK1210095093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 2

[Statement by members of the "Free Elections" initiative group: Vyacheslav Igrunov, director of the Humanitarian and Political Studies Institute; Pavel Kudyakin, former deputy labor minister in the Yeltsin-Gaydar government; Dmitriy Leonov, council member of the "Memorial" human rights center; Gleb Pavlovskiy, editor of VEK XX I MIR [20TH CENTURY AND THE WORLD] magazine; under the "Elections" rubric: "'Free Elections' Initiative Group Set Up. Concern About Election Campaign"]

[Text] A group of citizens who gathered in Moscow on 8 October in the conditions of the state of emergency points to intensifying circumstances—administrative, political, and legal—unfavorable for exercising the right to prepare for and conduct free and fair democratic elections on the date established by the Russian Federation Government—11-12 December 1993.

We are alarmed by the prospect of an election campaign under the remaining military and administrative restrictions on the voters' political activity. Our society, which has just experienced an armed struggle between citizens, has not had enough time either to investigate the factual side of the conflict or to realize its political effects, and it is not ready to form a range of alternatives to overcome the crisis of statehood.

We are alarmed by incidents of opposition organizations and individuals' being prevented from taking part in the elections; the blatant manipulation of the mass media, which is in effect tantamount to the introduction of political censorship; the use of ideological and political charges to press criminal ones; signs of a one-sided, politically-motivated investigation into the events of 21 September-5 October in Moscow, which ignores the presumption of innocence and the responsibility of all sides to the conflict for its bloody outcome; and the restrictions on the freedom of trade union activity.

We are particularly alarmed by the extension of the state of emergency period, which has already thwarted the launch of the democrats' election campaign in Moscow. One is getting the impression that the government is not interested in learning the opinion of the voters with regard to its state and political improvisations.

The "Free Elections" initiative group is not a political organization. Each of us retains full political and intellectual independence; the group in no way restricts the right of any of us to make his own judgments on the situation—not on behalf of the group, but as a member of it.

The initiative group plans to contribute to the formation of local citizens' committees and groups for the protection of political and intellectual freedom as a basis for civil self-organization. The group welcomes the creation of any associations of citizens with similar objectives and is ready to cooperate with them.

The group welcomes the idea of conducting an independent public investigation of the events of 21 September-5 October, which was put forward by historian Mikhail Gefter, a member of the Presidential Council.

The group plans to maintain contacts with all human rights organizations as well as organizations for public and international monitoring of the elections.

We ask the mass media to assist us in reporting and disseminating our information.

[Signed] Members of the "Free Elections" initiative group—Vyacheslav Igrunov, director of the Humanitarian and Political Studies Institute; Pavel Kudyakin, former deputy labor minister in the Yeltsin-Gaydar government; Dmitriy Leonov, council member of the "Memorial" human rights center; Gleb Pavlovskiy, editor of VEK XX I MIR

Rutskoy, Khasbulatov Imprisonment

Condition of Rutskoy, Others at Lefortovo Described

PM1110144593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

[Boris Soldatenko report: "Lefortovo Detention Center: New 'Inmates'"]

[Text] A small complex of buildings surrounded by a yellow brick wall and barbed wire 10 minutes' walk from Aviamotornaya Metro Station constitutes the Russian Security Ministry's well-known Lefortovo detention center. On Thursday [7 October] our correspondents paid a visit here.

Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, Makashov, Achalov, Barannikov, and Dunayev were brought here on the evening of 4 October straight from the blazing White House and placed in separate cells. They were joined in the detention center by about another 160 detainees, who were either kept in detention or released once their identity was established along with their role in the well-known events.

According to Yu. Rastvorov, head of the detention center, none of the six organizers of the rebellion needed medical treatment. Therefore investigators got to work with them straightaway on the evening of their arrest.

All the detention center's cells have room speakers linked to the radio [radiotochka], so the new "inmates" have not been cut off—as far as information is concerned—from the outside world. Apart from the radio they are able to read three newspapers each day. These being TRUD, IZVESTIYA, and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. The detainees spend virtually all their spare time reading newspapers and the literature available in the detention center library. They are allowed to receive parcels and smoke in their cells, but they are still categorically forbidden to go for a walk.

We were categorically forbidden from interviewing the detainees or even going up to the door of their cells. But journalists were allowed to look at the spare eight-square-meter cell where, we learned, the well-known [Mathias] Rust was housed. Yuriy Rastvorov explained that it is no different from those in which the leaders of the military revolt are now housed.

When we left the detention center 7 October in the evening, they had been in detention for 72 hours, after which those who were not charged were released. At the same time Russian General Prosecutor Aleksey Kazannik authorized Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, Barannikov, Dunayev, and Achalov to be arrested. Their actions were seen to contain elements of crime for which Article 79 of the Russian Federation Criminal Code makes provision—organizing mass disturbances with grave consequences. A number of organizers of the disturbances, including Retired General Makashov, were arrested earlier.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA was told by the Russian Security Ministry's Public Relations Center that on the evening of 7 October Viktor Anpilov, former leader of "Working Moscow," was arrested at a dacha near Tula. On the same day the detainee was transported to Lefortovo. It emerged that, according to ITAR-TASS, he was handed over by a citizen who wanted to remain anonymous, who turned up at the editorial office of the MOLODOY KOMMUNAR oblast newspaper and provided information that the wanted man Anpilov was staying with friends at the time at a dacha in the "Meliorator" out-of-town dacha society. Covert surveillance was mounted on the dacha and an ambush organized.

Prison Routine Detailed

PM1110131993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

["Reportage" by Sergey Oleynik of KRIM-PRESS especially for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI: "The Organizers of the Uprising in Moscow Have Been in Lefortovo Prison for 72 Hours"]

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov begins his day in prison in the same way as he was accustomed to starting the day in the White House—by reading ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. Instead of a luxurious office he has a cell two meters wide by four meters long with a vaulted ceiling and bars at the small window. He has a bed covered with a woollen blanket, a light, a table, and a chair. To the right of the door are the "conveniences," on the wall a shelf with a cup and a bowl, newspapers, and books.

Unfortunately your KRIM-PRESS correspondent was unable to meet with the former chairman of the Supreme Soviet in person when I visited the Ministry of Security's detention cells at Lefortovo jail yesterday. Nor was I able to meet with other leaders and participants in the uprising. Under the criminal procedure rules, access to them is barred not just to journalists but also lawyers and even relatives. Thus all the information about the conditions in which the rebels are being kept in jail, their daily routine, health, and mood has had to be obtained "second hand," as it were, from the chief of the prison.

To begin with, Yuriy Danilovich (Security Ministry press service staff asked us not to mention his surname) rebutted a number of rumors current in the capital. For example, there was no attempted armed attack on Lefortovo prison on the evening of 4 October. Just as the six leaders of the abortive coup were not brought there, as alleged, by limousine. Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, Barannikov, Dunayev, Achalov, and Makashov arrived in two buses and were not wearing handcuffs. On arrival they were all given a medical examination, no injuries or other evidence that hospitalization was necessary were discovered on them, and after giving their initial testimony to the investigator the former state leaders went to their cells. I have seen those cells—or rather I have seen one empty cell. But all the cells at Lefortovo (there are around 500 in the jail) are identical, according to Yuriy Danilovich. Nor are there any differences in the conditions in which the prisoners are kept—they get up at 0600, lights-out is at 2200, they talk with the investigators, and in their free time read the press and books from the prison library. The only papers they have there are ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, IZVESTIYA, and TRUD. Lefortovo does not receive any other newspapers. They

can also learn the latest news from the radio, but there are no television sets in the cells.

Because all the people taken to the detention center after the surrender of the White House are under administrative arrest they are not being allowed out for walks in the prison courtyard yet—that is not allowed by the Code of Criminal Procedure. Despite the lack of fresh air, the detainees are not complaining of a loss of appetite. The food is simple. It is certainly not haute cuisine: For breakfast they get noodles, for lunch fresh cabbage soup and a potato salad, and in the evening wheat kasha and tea. The quality of preparation is far higher than in other Moscow prisons.

Many of the 160 people taken to Lefortovo prison since the surrender of the White House have already been released because no element of crime was discovered in their actions. The investigation into the rest is going on. Their stay in Lefortovo could be a long one. Meanwhile they are waiting to be charged, which the Russian General Prosecutor must do within three months of their detention under the law.

Accused 'Extremely Unlikely' To Face Death Penalty Charges

PM1110115393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed untitled report under the "Focus of Attention" rubric]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin's international affairs aide, Dmitriy Ryurikov, stated in an interview with the British newspaper THE EVENING STANDARD that it is extremely unlikely that the charges brought against Aleksandr Rutskoy and Ruslan Khasbulatov might carry the death penalty. In his opinion it is most likely that A. Rutskoy and R. Khasbulatov will be charged with plotting to overthrow the government, a crime which carries a maximum penalty of 15 years in prison. The prosecutor will make the final decision.

May Face Conspiracy Charge

LD1110162993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Article 79 of Russia's Criminal Code under which the leaders of the October rebellion, Khasbulatov and Rutskoy, are to be charged, will evidently not be the only law that they will be charged under. In an interview with Interfax, an expert from the Russian General Prosecutor's Office said that the charges against them ought to be made within ten days from the time of detention, that is no later than October 14, and so Article 79 will serve as a "stopgap" measure to enable the prosecution to keep the culprits in custody.

The article in question, the expert said, stipulates punishment (2 to 15 years in prison) for organizing "mass disturbances accompanied by pogroms, destruction, arson and other such actions," but does not carry the threat of a death sentence. Punishment for actions which lead to fatalities falls under other articles, the expert pointed out.

According to him, during investigations Khasbulatov and Rutskoy will be charged with manslaughter, like participants in the August 1991 coup, Dmitriy Yazov and Vladimir Kryuchkov, who were accused of being responsible for the death of three defenders of the White House.

The expert believes that finally Khasbulatov and Rutskoy will be charged With "conspiracy with the aim of seizing power" under Article 64 of Russia's Criminal Code, which carries the death sentence.

May Be Charged With Treason

LD0910140593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 9 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In accordance with articles 64 and 79 of Russia's criminal code, revolt leaders Aleksandr Rutskoy, Ruslan Khasbulatov, Vladislav Achalov, Albert Makashov, Andrey Dunayev, Viktor Barannikov and Viktor Anpilov could be charged with treason for tyring to seize power and organize mass disturbances. Sources at the Russian general procurator's office provided this information.

Lawyers Appointed To Defend White House Arrestees

PM1210075393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Item from "Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" column of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA and ITAR-TASS reports: "Lawyers Appointed"]

[Text] The lawyer Yuriy Ivanov, who is well-known for his appearances at the Constitutional Court sessions on the "CPSU Case" and at the court examination of the "Case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency," will defend former Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, who is now under investigation.

The lawyer Dmitriy Shteynberg will represent Barannikov's interests, and Yuriy Borovkov will represent Dunayev. Apart from Abdulla Khamzayev, Aleksandr Klingman will probably also represent former Russian Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov. Relatives of the leader of the National Salvation Front have already signed an agreement with the lawyer Vladimir Belyayev to defend Konstantinov.

Official Denies Khasbulatov Having Drug Withdrawal Problems

LD1110101793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] A representative from the public relations center of the Russian Security Ministry has officially denied rumors that Ruslan Khasbulatov is having drug withdrawal symptoms in a remand cell in Lefortovo Prison. As the representative of the public relations center said in an INTERFAX interview, the former leader of the Supreme Soviet, just like the other leaders of the mutiny in Lefortovo, feels fine and there is no sign of deterioration in his health. In his words, none of the arrested people have requested medical attention for any serious reason.

Health Minister Reports 142 Confirmed Dead From Clashes

LD0910085193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0809 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Karlov]

[Text] Moscow October 9 TASS—As of 10.00 on Saturday [9 October], 142 people have been officially registered as being killed during the october events in Moscow, Colonel-General of the medical service Eduard Nechayev, Russian minister of health, told ITAR-TASS.

"The saddest thing is that those are mainly civilians. Out of the total number, there are six military men, five members of Interior-Ministry personnel and 10 policemen among the dead. The rest are civilians, among them women and children," Nechayev said.

By now, 359 people are taking medical treatment in clinics and hospitals of Moscow. Only 65 of them are military men, the minister said.

As physician and professional military officer, the minister emphasised that he rules out another flare-up of such grave events. "I am sure that after such mass killings the people have come to understand finally who is who," Nechayev said.

Source Claims 'Hundreds' Died Inside White House

MK0910084693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

[Oleg Rubnikovich report under the "Horror" rubric: "Killed in the White House"]

[Text] According to reports from a confidential source, your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent has learned that the number of casualties inside the White House is running at hundreds of people. The authorities claim, however, that only around 50 bodies were found in the Supreme Soviet building. Knowledgeable sources reported that all the victims had bullet wounds, but not a single body was burned or riddled with splinters. This is not surprising, however, because, according to available reports, they were brought from the two lower floors.

Another 400 bodies or so from the upper floors, which were pounded by tank shells, disappeared amid mysterious circumstances. Despite claims by Anatoliy Kulikov, commander of the internal troops, that tanks fired "sparingly, in order to frighten, not to kill, and targets were chosen where we more or less knew that there were no people there," eyewitnesses say that shells hit precisely the spots from which the opposite side delivered fire.

Given this, the report carried live by CNN correspondents that there were up to 500 dead bodies in the White House does not appear so fantastic.

No one, of course, is looking for the lost bodies because, according to the official theory, they simply do not exist.

No Deputies Killed in 3-4 Oct Events

LD0810182293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Not a single deputy at any level was killed during the events on 3 and 4 October, RIA news agency reports. This was disclosed today by Aleksandr Braginskiy, deputy head of the Moscow administration, who was giving a live interview to radio station Ekho Moskvy. He based his information on a report from the capital's main medical directorate.

Condition of White House Described

PM1110131593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Nikolay Burbyga: "Number of Dead Specific in White House"]

[Text] Today the White House is being guarded as never before. To approach it, never mind get inside the building, you have to receive special permission.

I enter the 14th entrance. The commandant's headquarters is in the foyer. There is little here now to remind one of the recent tragedy. Order has been introduced. Women are darting about among the men with assault rifles: the servicing personnel, I was told. The lights are on. Only the top floors of the building have not been switched on. Electricians are afraid of a short circuit.

On some floors the barricades of safes, refrigerators, and desks, behind which the White House defenders hid, have already been removed. Over the past few days the military have gone over all the floors. Now the sappers are working. They are encountering many closed premises on their path. There is a suggestion that bodies of the dead may be in them. All the dead found in accessible places have been taken to the morgues. As stated

earlier there has been no forensic investigation. The bodies of the dead were taken away by three ambulance teams.

How many people died in the White House in all?

"We found 37 people on the first day," says Major General Arkadiy Baskayev, commandant of the White House region. "On the second day another six corpses were found. It is true that I saw various bodies being taken away at night but I do not know exactly how many died."

"There are rumors that at least 1,000 people died..."

"I find that hard to believe. I think that about 50 more people, no more, can be added to the figures I have cited. They may be in the closed premises that we have not yet searched."

"What kind of premises are they?"

"Part of the underground communications facilities. You cannot work without sappers there. We shall set about them tomorrow."

"Khasbulatov's bunker has not been search either?"

"The bunker was closed from inside and we opened it, but we discovered nothing interesting there."

"Did the looters take away much of value from the building on the first day?"

"Unfortunately looters were in the building before us. Mostly young men, mere boys. They dragged out computers, telephones, items which were in the store on the first floor. We took many of them to the militia and spent the whole night fighting the fire with the fire brigade members. We managed to save a valuable collection of paintings. A painting portraying Lomonosov was damaged. A bullet entered his shoulder.

"On the morning of 5 October we removed 15 people from the communications room. One man, who had come from Kustanay, shot himself, despite our pleas to him to come out."

"What did you find on the fifth and sixth floors, where the officers of the speaker and Rutskoy were situated?"

"We found four space communications radio stations and a major general's uniform which obviously belonged to Rutskoy.

"I entered Khasbulatov's office at 2230 hours on 4 October. It was very untidy. There were many empty liquor and brandy bottles and packets of expensive tobacco. There was a pipe on the desk."

...When I left the White House it was already dark. I accidentally overheard a conversation between two worried soldiers: Khasbulatov's pipe was missing, one of them said, and the Volvo in which he used to travel.

Two Mines Diffused

LD1110120693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1013 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondent Valeriy Litvinenko]

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—Two mines were found ready to explode in the building of the Russian Parliament ("White House") on Monday [11 October] morning, competent sources told CRIME-PRESS.

The mines were located by military sappers engaged in cleaning up the building ravaged by tank gun fire and flames on October 4. The sappers defused the mines and continued removing other weapons and ammunition from all rooms of the White House building, CRIME-PRESS was told.

Official Describes Fight Against White House Fire

PM1110091593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 8

[Interview with Major General Vladimir Dedikov, chief of Internal Affairs Ministry Firefighting and Emergency Rescue Work Service, by Lyudmila Motorkova under "Service 01" rubric; place and date not given: "Fire Is Also Red..."]

[Text] Never again, unfortunately, will the White House be as white as before. Although the soot coating the building's upper floors will undoubtedly be washed off....

The fire started during the day, after the very first shots, but firefighters arrived at the White House only at 1928 hours. Even then it was impossible to get through to the building: Intensive shooting was taking place. One hour later they started, under fire, laying down a main hose line. Toward 2200 hours the fire was raging on 10 floors of the building. At 0255 hours Major General Vladimir Dedikov, chief of the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry Firefighting and Emergency Rescue Work Service, arrived at the White House and took charge of the operation to put out the fire.

[Motorkova] Vladimir Yevgenyevich, was the danger so great that the personal participation of fireman No. 1 was required?

[Dedikov] Of course, the situation was serious. But the fire was being extinguished by the best-trained employees, 120 people in all. They probably would have managed without me, but I took advantage of my official position. In addition, I know well the layout of the White House because of August 1991. Then we tried to establish our own, fire service, link with the president, about which the State Committee for the State of Emergency knew nothing.

There was a moment when we were taken for gunmen. There was a moment when the gunmen took us for

attackers—it was then that Colonel Grechanikov was seized. But we have just one enemy—fire. It is also red.

[Motorkova] It is said that only good fortune saved you from bullets.

[Dedikov] There was a burst of fire quite nearby. After that I issued the order to personnel to put on the bulletproof vests abandoned by gunmen. The firefighters who found themselves in the firing line were "armed" only with hoses.

[Motorkova] What other "aggravating circumstances" did this fire have?

[Dedikov] There was no water in the White House building. We had to pump water from the Moskva River, and a fire launch was mobilized to extinguish the fire. Very high pressure had to be created in order to pump water to the upper floors of the building. Once 15 main lines went out of commission. Inside the building there was a large concentration of power and lighting cables and a filling station [maslozalivnaya stantsiya]. In addition, we had received information about entire stocks of ammunition. It can be said that we employed a new tactic for extinguishing the fire which had never before been rehearsed even on combat exercises. At 0712 hours the fire was extinguished. Taking into account the circumstances which took shape, this was done with the maximum promptness.

[Motorkova] How do you rate the damage caused by the fire?

[Dedikov] Furniture, the paneling of offices, and the parquet flooring burned. But the building's walls, ceilings, and floors are mainly intact. This is a result of the fact that all our recommendations were taken into consideration when the House of Soviets was constructed. Of course, the material damage is great. But I believe that it cannot compare with the moral damage.

State of Emergency in Moscow

Kulikov Statement Warns Against Rallies

LD0810160493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1453 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, October 8 (TASS)—Follows statement by the commandant of the Moscow state of emergency area:

According to information we have, some parties and movements are planning to organize pickets or rallies in Moscow on weekend, which is prohibited by the commandant.

I warn that any actions that destabilize situation in Moscow will be decisively stopped with the use of all available means and forces, and the organizers will be detained in accordance with the law.

[Signed] Commandant of the Moscow state of emergency area, Police Colonel-General A. Kulikov.

Kulikov Comments on State of Emergency, Militia's Actions

LD0910150393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Interview with Colonel General Aleksandr Kulikov, commandant of Moscow, on Yeltsin's decree extending the state of emergency, by unidentified Ostankino correspondent in Moscow; date not given; from the "Novosti" program—recorded]

[Text] [Kulikov] The decision has been taken to extend the state of emergency in Moscow until 18 October. I shall be imposing a curfew from midnight to 0500 hours, which will allow city's inhabitants to make more rational use of their time.

[Correspondent] What is the situation in the city at present regarding the curfew?

[Kulikov] Over 10,000 individuals have been detained during the curfew period for administrative violations. Altogether 427 criminals have been detained for crimes. Fifty-seven firearms; 34 knives; 18 explosive devices, including grenades; and about 3,000 rounds of ammunition of various types have been confiscated. A source of satisfaction is the fact that practically no crimes have been noted during the curfew period. There have been instances of rough treatment, and I should like on behalf of the commandant's office and my own behalf, to apologize for the actions of a few individual militiamen who sometimes exceeded their powers. We are looking very seriously into each violation, and we shall endeavour, I think, to see that none occur again. At the same time, however, there have been cases where intoxicated citizens have not halted when called on to do so by militiamen. As a result, Muscovites have probably heard shots being fired during the night. To date, though, we have practically not used weapons on people.

[Correspondent] One of the passes Ostankino television has received was taken away from us. Could you look and see whether they are all in order? We were told they had not been made out correctly.

[Kulikov] These passes are now in operation all over Moscow. They must have the commandant's red signature and red stamp to be valid. This pass is a valid pass, and those people who confiscated it should return it immediately, because this is, so to speak, an infringement of their powers.

I should like once again to address Muscovites about a problem that might arise during the state of emergency. Information exists that certain parties and movements are intending to mount pickets or hold rallies. I want to warn them that as the commandant of Moscow, I have banned rallies, processions, and demonstrations, and if

anyone attempts to destabilize the situation, the commandant's office will act within the law's strict framework and will not permit such manifestations.

Confident of Lifting of Emergency 17 Oct

LD1110155793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1520 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—The military commandant of Moscow believes the state of emergency in the Russian capital will not be prolonged again and will be lifted Sunday [17 October].

"I think there is no necessity to extend the state of emergency in the capital after October 17", Aleksandr Kulikov told reporters on Monday [11 October], adding that, most evidently, no "White House" snipers and armed militants had remained in Moscow.

The state of emergency and the curfew were introduced after the armed opposition rebellion on October 3 and prolonged for another week on October 10.

However, Kulikov warned that some "criminals and mentally sick people" had received guns when weapons were distributed among defenders of the parliament building. Police believes some 40 firearms were handed out.

The commandant said that a man, who had been earlier convicted for hooliganism, received a submachine gun from White House guards and immediately went to settle scores with his enemies.

Still Kulikov said that the state of emergency and the curfew had normalised the situation in Moscow and brought the crime wave down.

324 firearms were confiscated, as well as 18 explosive devices and over five kilogrammes of drugs. 1,005 people without residence permits were extradited from Moscow, many others did not wait for police to send them out and left on their own, according to the military commandant.

A total of 18,939 people were detained for violating the curfew, but none of them was imprisoned, only those suspected of committing a crime, he added.

"We do not want to turn Moscow into a military camp", Kulikov stressed, adding that mobile forces who are to assist police in case of emergency include 100 soldiers and two armoured personnel carriers.

"Muscovites, with a rare exclusion, are satisfied with the actions of police in extreme conditions", the commandant said.

Muscovites are mostly satisfied with the fact that the so-called "Caucasian" traders, who caused most discontent and who are widely believed to be the main source of crime in Moscow, had been extradited from the capital. There are no "Caucasians" selling fruits at Moscow markets now.

"The rare exclusion", evidently, comprises those Muscovites who were beaten up by police during searches and without any good reason.

Discusses Crime, Curfew

LD1210045393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0230 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Colonel-General Aleksandr Kulikov, the commendant of the state-of-emergency zone, held a news conference in Moscow at the House of the Russian Press. Our commentator Anatoliy Fedorov reports.

[Fedorov] During the eight days that the curfew has been in force in Moscow, over 18,000 persons have been detained during the night. Approximately 130 firearms have been confiscated, and 360 criminal investigations have been launched, Aleksandr Kulikov told those present, and then started answering questions. There were plenty of them. Here are just some.

[Begin recording] [Fedorov] It is said that the occasional sniper is still opening fire in the capital, and is the danger great in general?

[Kulikov] In every district we have set up several groups, which work from vehicles and drive around day and night carrying out visual checks on roofs and attics of high-rise buildings. Thank God, so far, as of 5 October, since the end of the operations around the White House and Ostankino, there has been nothing similar and we will at the very least be trying to keep it that way.

According to provisional figures, when the people coming out of the White House were being checked, over 40 of them had criminal records or were registered at psychiatric and drug clinics, and so forth. These are provisional figures from the initial 24 hours there. I cannot rule it out that mentally-ill people were involved in the attacks. Outside entrance number 20, they were handing out weapons to all and sundry. We detained a man outside Moscow, who has served six years for malicious hooliganism and was charged with murdering a relative (?but managed to avoid a prison sentence). He was given a gun outside the White House simply by showing his passport, and straight away went off home on other business. So I cannot rule it out. But only lunatics would open fire on passersbys now. It is difficult to give guarantees. As Ostap Bender [famed character in Russian literature] said, only an insurance policy will give you a guarantee, so I would not like to make promises because if something suddenly happens you will accuse me of lying.

[Fedorov] One thousand and five people without residence permits have been expelled from Moscow during the state of emergency. A staff member from the Armenian permanent mission in Moscow spoke of the police using violent methods when expelling citizens. Is this so?

[Kulikov] Virtually everyone that we have expelled had enough money for his expulsion. Since it is not cheap these days, we have no evidence of them coming back. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Fedorov] Throughout this period, in Moscow alone, police and Interior Ministry troops have taken 80,000 [as heard] sites under guard.

Curfew Violations Continue

PM0810141193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Vasiliy Fatigarov report from the "From Our Information Bureau" roundup: "Not Everyone in Moscow Has Yet Realized the Curfew Is for Real"]

[Text] Unfortunately, even though it has been in force four days, not everybody is reacting correctly to the state of emergency. Between 2300 and 0500 hours on the night of 6-7 October five of the capital's inhabitants were wounded while resisting militia staffers or failing to carry out their demands. Some 226 vehicles were sent to GAI [State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration] pounds.

Although somewhat cooled by earlier events, the ardor of criminal groupings is again finding an outlet. According to a report from the Moscow Internal Affairs Main Administration, 108 people were arrested for various crimes and 2,203 for administrative offenses. Seven firearms, six knives, five explosive devices, 40 items of ammunition, and various narcotic substances were confiscated. And 3,522 people were detained for breaking the curfew.

Crime Figures, Detentions Discussed

LD0910112893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1027 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondent Nikolay Semenenko]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Oct—The past 24 hours in the Russian capital have passed in relative calm. Altogether 180 crimes were committed in the city. This figure is considerably down on the period preceding the introduction of the state of emergency in Moscow and the establishment of a curfew.

The CRIME-PRESS correspondent has been informed by Nikolay Boyko, head of the Public Relations Center of Moscow's Main Internal Affairs Directorate, that more than 6,000 people were detained overnight, including 24 for committing crimes, 1,383 for administrative violations, and 3,652 for breaking the curfew. Six firearms were confiscated. The militiamen on several occasions used weapons to detain those violating the law.

According to Nikolay Boyko, the reduced level of crime in the city is connected with the fact that under the conditions of the state of emergency and the curfew, the Moscow militia is continuing to carry out a set of operational crime prevention measures. As a result there has been a considerable drop in such dangerous crimes as robbery, rape, and car theft. Whereas previously 43-45 percent of crimes were being brought to light while the trail was still hot, this figure is now 60 percent.

The militia has also received the right to expel from the city individuals infringing the registration regulations. A total of 295 people have already been expelled from Moscow.

'Lessening Tension' in Moscow Cited

LD1010141093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0725 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow October 10 TASS— The situation in Moscow last night was calm, no serious accidents and incidents involving troops have been reported, ITAR-TASS learned by telephone from an officer on duty of the Russian Interior Ministry.

According to the Moscow Interior Department, it was much quieter in Moscow last night than during the first days after a curfew had been imposed in Moscow. It was reported that among those detained by law enforcement bodies are mostly people who committed administrative offenses or violated the curfew.

According to the city traffic police, 162 transport vehicles have been detained. On October 6, the number of detained cars was 369, on October 8 - 324.

The dynamics of lessening tension in the city can be seen from the situation over the past two days: On October 8, over 8,000 violations of the order were reported, while on October 9, the number of such violations dropped to less than 6,000 and last night, less than 5,000 such incidents have been reported.

Militia Vehicle Reportedly Fired At

LD1010163493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] A correspondent for the POSTFACTUM agency has learned that four unidentified people fired on a militia vehicle near the Kiev railway station in Moscow yesterday evening. One militia officer was wounded. The criminals managed to escape.

Criminals Arrested; Firearms Confiscated

LD1110093493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Summary] Twenty-three people were arrested in Moscow last night for criminal offences; just over 1,500 for violations of an administrative nature; and 2,631 people for breaking the curfew. Around 60 firearms were confiscated.

Moscow, Other Oblasts Crime Situation 'Normal'

LD1210090093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0624 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, 12 October—The "Signal-ring" operation is continuing in Moscow Oblast and also in adjacent oblasts. A duty officer of the Moscow Oblast directorate of internal affairs told an ITAR-TASS correspondent today that over the past 24 hours 182 crimes had been recorded, 56 of which had already been solved. They include two murders and two car hijackings.

According to the same report, 14 firearms have been confiscated and 467 people have been detained for violating the rules for residence in the oblast. Of 799 drunk people detained, 306 have been put in "sobering-up" stations. According to the local internal affairs directorate, the past 24 hours reflect the normal crime situation.

According to the ITAR-TASS correspondent, the night has also passed calmly in oblasts adjacent to Moscow.

Situation Reported 'Calm' in Moscow Overnight

LD1210084393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0810 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—Last night was calm in the Russian capital. According to reports released by competent sources, the law enforcement bodies, acting jointly with the interior troops, have exerted efforts to curfew Moscow. No serious offences or incidents were recorded.

According to information released by the Moscow Interior Affairs Department, last night was much calmer in the capital than during the previous few days since the curfew was imposed. The detained mostly included violators of administrative rules and violators of the curfew.

Nevertheless, there was some shooting in Moscow last night. ITAR-TASS has learned from the state of emergency commandant's office that two men were wounded during a robbery attempt.

According to information received from the Moscow Traffic Inspection Department, the number of traffic accidents did not top the usual level last night. There were 27 accidents on the roads and streets of the capital, which claimed four human lives. Twenty-six people were wounded.

According to information received from the Moscow fire brigade, there were 76 alarm calls last night. Fires had to be extinguished in private apartments, cooperative stores, make shift garbage dumps within the bounds of the city.

The ambulance service also believes last night was calm in the Russian capital. According to information received from the doctor on duty, his subordinates were shocked by the murder of a whole family, consisting of father, mother and child, in one of the Moscow hotels. ITAR-TASS was told that an inquest was ordered in this connection.

Commandant of the emergency situation zone in Moscow, Militia Colonel-General Alexandr Kulikov said that the crime rate had dropped by 16 per cent during the eight days of the emergency situation in the capital. Only 126 crimes were registered since the curfew was imposed. The crime exposure rate has also increased and the number of committed crimes has dropped. According to General Kulikov, about 20,000 people were detained for violating the curfew since the day it came into force, 326 criminal proceedings were instituted, 324 pieces of firearms were confiscated from criminals (only during the period of the curfew), 18 various explosive devices and more than five kilograms of drugs were seized. According to a report released by the commandant's office, 1,005 people, illegally residing in Moscow, were evicted from the capital. A natural outflow of people from Moscow has also been recorded.

Human Rights Center Protests Hunt for Illegal Residents

MK1010070293 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed report in the "In Brief" column: "Threat of Arbitrary Rule"]

[Text] The "Memorial" human rights center has sent a letter to Russian Federation General Prosecutor A.I. Kazannik saying, among other things: "The Moscow mayor's call on the public to report persons living in Moscow without residence permits will result above all in heightening ethnic tensions. We count on your intervention and hope that it will not cause your deportation from Moscow for not having a residence permit."

National Affairs

Government Appoints Radetskyy New Defense Minister

LD0810113393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1103 GMT 8 Oct 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksandr Litvinov]

[Text] Kiev, October 8 (TASS)—Vitaliy Radetskyy was appointed new defence minister of Ukraine by the republican parliament on Friday.

The 48-year old colonel general was nominated for the post by President Leonid Kravchuk.

Radetskyy was commander of the Odessa Military District in southern Ukraine.

Born in the village of Khristinovka in Cherkassy region of Ukraine he graduated from the Kiev Army Command School, the Frunze Military Academy and the Academy of General Headquarters in Moscow.

Radetskyy served in the Baltics, the Far East and in the former East Germany.

He replaced Konstantin Morozov who had resigned from the post.

Radetskyy Addresses Parliament

LD0810150293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Speech by newly appointed Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy at Supreme Council session—live]

[Text] Esteemed Chairman of the Supreme Council. Esteemed deputies. As any young state, Ukraine is now going through a difficult period in making and establishing statehood. It goes on painfully, sometimes accompanied by contradictory processes and tendencies. What is most important, however, is it complies with the everlasting striving of the people toward achieving real independence. As the recent complicated events in Moscow showed, we cannot help but be concerned over issues of security of the state and protection of its national interests. I believe that the national armed forces, which are today in a complicated stage of their development, must become exactly such a guarantor. As a matter of fact, during the past two years, through the great efforts of the president, the government, the Supreme Council, and the entire people of Ukraine, the army of the independent state has been created as a reliable protector of its sovereignty. During all this time, holding the post of the commander of the [military] district troops, I feel immediately both success in this sacred cause and problems, which reflect on the state of combat readiness and defense capability of the troops. I see these processes from inside, as a specialist in military affairs. I see ways toward their solution and work to put them into practice. I see the basis for the development of the national army in the unconditional fulfilment of the law of Ukraine on the armed forces, their activities on the principles of democracy and humanism, accountability to the constitutional bodies of the legislative and executive power, glasnost, guaranteed social and legal protection of servicemen by the state and nonparty affiliation. In compliance with the legislation currently in force and issues of defense, no political parties or movements whatsoever have the right to exist and carry out activities in the armed forces of Ukraine, and servicemen have no right to membership in these parties and movements. Meanwhile, the army, which is called to defend the state, must be imbued with the spirit of statehood and state ideology. It is this spirit and this ideology that should be laid down in the basis of the Ukrainian army's discipline. The issue on the use of the armed forces of Ukraine for fulfilling the tasks that are not related to the defense of the state should be decided by the Supreme Council of Ukraine exceptionally. I abide by this point of view having in mind the thesis: The army is beyond politics.

As to its composition we now need an army that on the one hand would be capable of defending the independence, territorial integrity, and inviolability of Ukraine, and our national interests, and at the same time would meet the principle of satisfactory defense, would be grounded on military, geopolitical, and financial realities, and would not be a burden on the economy of our state.

In other words, the army should not be a large one, nor an expensive one, but battleworthy, have the ability to break up a sudden air or space attack by an aggressor, inflict defeat on him in reply, and ideally oblige the aggressor to come to his senses and agree to a political resolution of the problem.

I consider the pivot of military reforms to be the structural and strategic reconstruction of the armed forces. A modern army, in accordance with world standards, should be based on high mobility, be capable of demonstrating its presence in any threatening direction of Ukraine's geopolitical space, be capable of urgent and vigorous defense actions, of logical accumulation of the necessary groupings in reply to the level of the threat, and have the ability to secure the inviolability of our borders.

It is necessary to reduce the armed forces objectively and resolutely, which should not be a step backwards nor lead to the lowering of firing and striking possibilities, protection, or maneuverability of troops. We see the resolution of these questions in modernizing military technology, creating weapons on new physical principles, increasing the power of ammunition, its preciseness and efficiency, and the full utilization in this direction of the high technological and intellectual potential of our military-industrial complex and our science.

Therefore, I consider it to be necessary to have a national defense industry that would meet our needs in armaments and military technology at a level sufficient to restrain and repel aggression, and no more.

With the aim of reducing expenditures on maintaining the army at the same time as reducing the army, it is necessary to conduct a full inventory of property, weapons, ammunition, and funds, and especially land, and to determine what is absolutely necessary for the army, and to hand all excess over to the national economy. It is necessary to ask the Supreme Council to exempt from taxes the land that remains utilized by the army.

The knot of unresolved problems in today's army, and at the same time its future, people, officers and soldiers, world experience, and our history from the time of the soldiers belonging to the retinue of the Kievan princes show that the best soldier is a professional, a specialist. We have begun to staff the army on a fundamentally new basis, which is expressed in a mixed staffing of the troops—both in accordance with public military duty and voluntarily on a contract. The transition to an entirely professional army needs a certain amount of time, and will not be cheap, but this expenditure will be compensated by the increase in the combat capability of the troops, better organization, better maintenance of technology and weapons, and a reduction in the negative consequences of the crime situation in Ukraine.

To do that, however, we will badly need measures by the state that would create attractive conditions for the engagement of specialists, experienced and talented people, of whom there is a great many in our land, to serve on a contractual basis.

As for military discipline, I would like to say that the current situation with legal offences and crimes in the army, and particularly cases of human deaths, disablement, defection, and the spread of attempts to evade conscription, is a matter of constant attention for all the army chiefs. Of course, there are a lot complaints that are wholly justifiable too, about the activity of the officers in that respect. They are, indeed, experiencing difficult times, but there is a direct connection between military discipline and the economic and political state of our society.

I believe that this issue requires at present to be approached from every direction, starting from school. A program should be drawn up at state level to provide pre-conscription service training for young people and to educate them in military and patriotic terms on the basis of the nation's history and the people's traditions and achievements. All our community must with perseverance teach every young man national self-awareness, establish the ideology of the nation and the state in the armed forces, and raise the prestige of military service to a high level in society. The situation should be changed radically to overcome the consequences of the Soviet Union army. The people's affection and respect for a man in uniform, which was historically characteristic of the Ukrainian people and was the subject of their pride and esteem, should be restored.

In-depth studies of the national language and history of Ukraine should become one of the levers to teach a young man to be a Ukrainian patriot. To do that, a large amount of money, and great consistency and perseverance are needed. I also deem it expedient to draw your attention to the fact that the national armed forces have been in existence for almost two years now but still do not have any manuals of their own, not even temporary ones, which would also step up the introduction of the national language into the every-day life of the army.

Esteemed deputies: If you decide in favor of my candidacy, I would like to hope that we will coordinate our work together in the field of defense (?in the government) and with the agencies and forces of DerzhKomKordon [State Border Protection Committee], Internal Affairs Ministry, Security Service, National Guard, and Civil Defense; that you will support me and that you will demonstrate state wisdom, characteristic of you, in settling the problems of the army.

I believe that immediately adopting our state's military doctrine, determining the numerical strength of the armed forces and drawing up and endorsing military manuals, as well as allocating in a timely manner the guaranteed budgetary funds to the needs of defense, are the steps urgently needed to build our army.

Thank you for attention.

Responds to Deputies' Questions

LD0910081893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Question-and-answer session following speech by Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy, with people's deputies at the Supreme Council session in Kiev—live]

[Text] [Tryzna] Deputy Tryzna for the 114th district. I have two short questions for the minister—for the future Ukrainian defense minister—or let us say now a candidate or contender. My first question is: Do you agree with the actions by your colleague in Russia, Grachev? This is the first question.

Second, if the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine should violate a constitutional article, will you be governed by an order from the commander in chief or by a constitutional article?

[Radetskyy] My answer to the first question is this: What happened in Russian must not happen to us. Those issues that were settled by the Russian Armed Forces should be dealt with by other agencies. This is first.

The second question: If there should be an order from the commander in chief in the same situation, I think that this order from the commander in chief must be

confirmed by the Supreme Council or a body that will be elected. This is my position.

[Unidentified Deputy] I would like to know your opinion on the following. Which qualities, in your opinion, did Defense Minister Morozov lack in order to bring about an attempt at his replacement? Were these expert qualities relating to Army development, or his patriotic qualities, or organizational abilities? Because replacing a defense minister with fires raging around Ukraine....[parliament speaker interrupts]

[Radetskyy] Here is my answer. It is up to the Supreme Council and the commander in chief to evaluate the minister of defense. I am a district commander, and all I have to do is obey orders.

[Deputy] One question. The draft military doctrine that was rejected had a clause saying that one of the sources of warfare is the presence of illegal armed formations. Please answer clearly whether you agree with the president on the need for immediate elimination of illegal armed formations of the UNSD [Ukrainian National Self-Defense] type. If yes, I will vote for you eagerly. If you are in doubt, I will vote against.

[Radetskyy] My answer is that I agree. There should be no military formations apart from the Armed Forces, the National Guard, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the border troops. Moscow has proved what these formations can lead to.

[Dmytryshyn] Deputy Dmytryshyn, 40th constituency. Before I put a question to you, I would like to say that Gen. Morozov was and is a highly intellectual person and a top notch specialist. Let us recall that we elected him by an overwhelming majority, and he won the sympathy of both the deputies and citizens of Ukraine. Therefore, proceeding from this, when the defense minister is currently being replaced, I personally—as a deputy who is to make a decision by voting—would like to know about this: I am sorry that I have read news in relevant mass media to the effect that you had a negative attitude toward the Union of Officers, that you allowed dismissals on the grounds that many patriotic officers were involved in the Union of Officers. Before I vote, I would like you to answer this question. Thanks.

[Radetskyy] Here is the answer. You have inaccurate information. First, I did not dismiss even a single officer who was a member of the Union of Officers. Second, I am in accord with and keep in contact with the Union of Officers today, the one that works and renders me assistance. I do not deal with those who do not support me but, on the contrary, just sow discord [word indistinct]. This is my stand.

[Romanov] Romanov, District 294, Odessa. Vitality Grigoryevich, according to your qualities, you undeniably deserve support as a nominee for the post of defense minister. However, I have the following questions for you. Today, military science is practically in a state of collapse. What do you think about taking urgent measures to finance military science, particularly in higher education, and, as a very specific question, what is your attitude toward preserving the Department of Military Training at Odessa University?

[Radetskyy] My answer is this. I think it is a big drawback for us to have abandoned science. We must rectify this immediately. This is the first question. As regards the university, you have put this question to me before, and we studied the situation. You know my personal attitude. I took this matter up with the defense minister, with all the grounds explained, but the defense minister did not back me on this issue.

[Deputy Volkovetskiy] General, please tell me, please answer these questions: The first question is your attitude toward the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine's territory. The second is: Would the Union of Officers of Ukraine be dissolved under your leadership? And the third question: What do you think, in what period of time could the Ukrainian language be introduced into the Ukrainian Army? Thank you.

[Radetskyy] My attitude toward nuclear weapons is that this is a very complex issue. This issue needs to be comprehensively studied. That is the first thing. The second thing is that we need reliable guarantees by states for nuclear security. I am not going to list what states these are. The third thing is that financial and technical assistance is necessary for us. I know we need funds for dismantlement and for work on the process, and I have studied this technology.

The third issue [as heard]: In order to answer you straight like a soldier, directly, this issue has to be studied, studied attentively, and then decisions can be adopted on it. I consider that, for me as a soldier, it is simply not (?acceptable) to simply dive headfirst into giving an answer, however.

As for the transition to the Ukrainian language, I would like to report now, for it to be clear, as follows: 46 percent of those who are currently serving in the military district entrusted to me are Ukrainians, which means that there are more Russians and servicemen of other nationalities. Incidentally, as few as 25 to 30 percent of Ukrainians out of the 46 percent have command of the Ukrainian language.

We now need both text books and dictionaries. We are now carrying out various kinds of training in Ukrainian. This is a problem. I think that we will master it in the course of the next few years without problem.

[Marmazov] Marmazov, Kirovograd. Vitaliy Hryhorovych, well, I have a short question to you. Please, say whether you, as a professional and commander of a large district, approve of the activities of the leader of the psychological service under the Ministry of Defense, headed by Mulyava. Yes or no.

[Radetskyy] You know, you again provoke me to give answers concerning people who are in no way subordinated to me, with whom I actually contact in the following manner. A directive arrives signed by either the chief of the main staff with Mulyava's signature underneath or by the defense minister. Again, I need time, if you allow me, to look into this, to examine it. Then, I—as a soldier—will report to you plainly: yes or no.

[Deputy, in Russian] Sevastyanov, the Crimea. Esteemed Vitaliy Grigoryevich. I would like to ask you a professional question. If you are elected defense minister, what will you begin your activity with in the post?

[Radetskyy] The first thing to begin with are issues of combat readiness, issues of combat readiness, and second is the selection of professionals, my closest associates and assistants.

[Deputy, in Russian] 113th constituency, Gusev. Esteemed Vitaliy Grigoryevich. At schools today, senior pupils have two lessons of preconscription training every week. Please say whether it would not be better to allot these hours for the summer time, for June and July, on the basis of military units, with combat officers, so that the young people could really feel what future military service is and prepare themselves better for the service in the ranks of the Ukrainian Army.

[Radetskyy] There is a point here. It is necessary to work on this as well.

[Deputy, in Russian] Esteemed Vitaliy Andreyevich. 238th constituency, the city of Sevastopol, Vaneyev. I would like to know whether you have a position on approaches to the solution of the Black Sea Fleet issue. This is the first thing. Second, which outlines are available, in your opinion, to consolidate the defense capability of the fleet in general, as a service of the armed forces. What will you undertake, what are you going to undertake toward that end? Thanks.

[Radetskyy] On the Black Sea Fleet: Being a military man and knowing the actual situation and state of the Black Sea Fleet—as little as 25 to 30 percent of whose forces are today combat ready—I think that this issue has been hounded out of our sight and, by the way, it is the military who are also to blame for that. It has to be studied attentively, analyzed, and reported to the Supreme Council and the president for a decision to be made, rather than doing what was being done before. If they could not settle an issue, they would say: Let the presidents settle it. It is military specialists who have to have a say in that. This is my position.

Also, it is definitely true that Ukraine, as a sea power, must have a Ukrainian Navy. No one, including me, should have any doubts about it.

[Ostroushchenko, in Russian] Deputy Ostroushchenko, Odessa. Vitaliy Grigoryevich. What is your attitude toward such a complicated collision as the one that happened in connection with the decision—in my opinion, an absolutely correct, politically balanced decision by our president and supreme commander—concerning the Black Sea Fleet? What is your attitude toward a collision when the defense minister came out against such a decision by his supreme commander. What would you do in such a collision? You answered that it was necessary to look into the problem with the military and so on. But when the president was adopting the decision, he was adopting it in a balanced manner on the basis of studying the problem by the military.

[Radetskyy] You know, well, what was done by Morozov. I do not condemn and do not assess him. I have already reported this. But if we leave for some negotiations—and I am honored by the supreme commander to be part of the delegation and I have a different opinion—my duty is not to leave there but apply for retirement.

[Deputy] 162d constituency, Zhitomir Oblast, Panasyuk. Esteemed Vitaliy Hryhorovych. I like your direct replies, that you are not looking for the golden mean and do not agree on any compromises. I appreciate this, and I will vote for your candidacy. I would like to hear an answer to the following question: Of late, military-patriotic education of the young people of preconscription age has been seriously neglected. Do you intend to take specific measures, to submit a specific package of proposals, in order to improve this matter, or do you believe this to be a norm?

And, esteemed Leonid Makarovych [Kravchuk], if you let me, I would like to ask you and to hear your answer: Can we hope that in the near future you will submit a military doctrine for the consideration of the Supreme Council? Changing the situation with the supreme command, we must place the activities of the future Army within a determined framework. In my opinion, this issue is being delayed, not through the fault of the Supreme Council. I am not going to specify who is to blame. Thanks.

[Kravchuk] You know, the concept was already discussed at the Supreme Council. There were remarks; there were proposals. It is being worked up. I think if the Supreme Council gives its agreement to the candidacy of the minister and the minister is approved, it is clear that he has to study in depth [word indistinct] his vision, coordinate with the president, and with the Defense Council. We will assemble the Defense Council and again analyze everything and submit to the Supreme Council.

[Radetskyy] Yes, this package is available because we have studied this issue.

[Shlemko] Volodymyr Shlemko, Electoral District 201, Kosov. At this time of mounting tension in Russia, what in your opinion must the president of Ukraine do, first of all, as commander in chief of Ukraine's Armed Forces: put the Army on combat alert, conduct retraining, or accept the so-called resignation of the defense minister? That was first.

You said you would make state ideology basic to the training of Armed Forces personnel. What is state ideology as you understand it? As far as I know, the president of Ukraine dismisses the notion of state ideology. What is your attitude toward the socio- psychological service in Ukraine that would implement this ideology. And my third question: You said that the Army must be small but combat ready. Do you think that the number of any country's armed forces must constitute 0.8 percent of its population?

[Radetskyy] I will not answer the first question because I already know the opinion of the commander in chief and what he would do in this situation. Second. The Army will adhere to the ideology adopted by the Supreme Council, and it has already been adopted. Third. I have nothing against the socio-psychological service. I only think that today it lacks specialists: physiologists, psycho- physiologists, lawyers, and doctors. This must be carefully studied, and these specialists must be trained to implement our state ideology, which I spoke to you about.

[Deputy] [Name indistinct], District 142. Esteemed Vitaliy Hryhoryovych. I have one question. Your predecessor presented here the military doctrine, that is the army doctrine, or the doctrine of the armed forces. His presentation was not so good. That is why it was rejected. As a result, so was the budget. I would like to ask you: When do you intend to submit the military doctrine, and how have you been surviving these past three quarters, being commander of such a large district, without a budget? Thank you for your attention.

[Radetskyy] I understand. In order to determine when to submit the doctrine, I need to become defense minister and that depends on you. The sooner you appoint me, the sooner I will submit the doctrine. The second question: How have we been surviving? We have been surviving very poorly. Do you know why? It is only thanks to the president's representative that we are finally completing vegetable procurement. Thanks to concessions from local authorities, we have just finished preparations. The district I am in charge of has 1,577 boiler houses to provide heating for the soldiers to ensure normal training, so that we can attend to combat training. I can tick off a whole list.

[Nahulko] Taras Nahulko, Shepetovka, Khmelnitskiy Oblast. Esteemed Vitaliy Hryhorovych. We had no chance to meet you at the commissions, to get to know you closer, to know where your family is from, what your parents did, and so on. That is very unfortunate. I would like to ask you the following, and if you find it appropriate, you can answer. I would like to ask you: As a citizen of Ukraine, as a military man, as a patriot of Ukraine, once you are appointed defense minister, what will you make as your first, most important decision regarding the Army? You have thought about it, I am sure of that. Thank you.

[Radetskyy] Here is my answer. First. I was born in Cherkassy Oblast, in the town of Lesinovka. That is where I was born. That is where my parents live. That is where my great grandfathers were buried.

What will be my decision? I will sit down and think what I need to do and what conclusions must be drawn from the mistakes made by my predecessor.

[Porovskyy] Mykola Porovskyy, District 340, Rovno Oblast. Esteemed Vitaliy Hryhorovych. As far as I know, the district you are in charge of is the only district in Ukraine to have conducted military exercises. As far as I know, Army Corps 32 deployed in the Crimea and subordinated to you has increased its number several times and conducted several military exercises as well. Could you tell us how you managed to conduct military training when everybody says that we cannot ensure bona fide military exercises. What enabled you to keep up a high standard of combat readiness? Where did you find such resources?

[Radetskyy] You know, there is a problem among the officer corps. This endless Yaroslavna's lament [from the "Tale of Ihor's Host," an old Slavonic chronicle] that they are trying to perform. Everybody knows so well what the president has to do, what Clinton has to do, and what he does. But nobody knows what a regiment commander, a brigade commander, a division commander must do. Therefore, our task is to stop seeking an excuse for doing nothing, but to seek a way out of this complex situation. We conducted training for commanders. Whenever we lacked equipment or fuel—and we understood the situation in the state—we conducted command and headquarters training and continued training of the officer corps. Even now, with all this complexity, although even in this complex situation, the state still allocated the necessary minimum. Believe me, I sat down, pencil in hand, and doled out every kilo of fuel for every unit: what must be used to bring meat, what goes to those on combat duty, and what goes to those performing the minimum tasks set out in the curriculum.

[Yavorivskyy] Deputy Yavorivskyy, Piskovets, Onufriyevka, Kirovograd Oblast. Esteemed general. I invite you for several minutes to switch over from global political-military problems to down-to-earth [issues]. I have two very simple routine questions. The first is this: You are well aware and we all are well aware of the fact that we have to reduce the Army; this is clear. How will you find a variant to carry out [this process] as flawless as possible, without any conflicts and upheavals? How do you perceive the idea that exists among officers, to the effect that those who are to be made redundant should be left in the Army for another year, 18 months, or two years, and be given an opportunity to build housing through their own efforts and through the efforts of the Army and thus solve problem number one.

Second question: Although we, of course, our children serve within the boundaries of Ukraine but, nonetheless,

do you see a problem in the fact that our children should serve still closer, as close as possible to their homes? So that they could, for example, on Saturday or Sunday communicate [word indistinct]? [commotion in the session hall]

[Radetskyy] Here is my reply. We have been reforming the Armed Forces but what we need is a reform, we need a clear-cut plan of the reform which is to be approved by you. If it is approved, and you know that such elements are included in it, then progress in this matter will be more significant. I hope you will also agree to this. Secondly, this idea of yours, to the effect that the officers who are completing their service should not be made redundant, but be given an opportunity to build and be left in the Armed Forces, I am not very much in favor of it. You know why? Because not all [of them] will have [a conscientious] attitude toward their duties. They will turn out to be out of staff and this will have a very harmful influence on the troops. A very harmful influence. Here we must look for another method. Maybe, true, [it is worthwhile] allocating some resources, provided there is an opportunity to do so. Let them build and we shall help them and that is it. Not to exclude them from the Armed Forces homeless lists. Because the staff has been fixed. For example, if 100 officers are needed, there must be 100 officers. But if there is 101, where shall we put him?

[Boreyko] Deputy Boreyko, 161st Korostyshevskiy Electoral District, [from the] Commission for Issues of Planning, Budget, Finances, and Prices. Esteemed colleagues! I think that our president, Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk is rarely mistaken when he submits candidacies for ministers of the power ministries. Here, having listened to the contender or candidate for the minister of defense, I think that his candidacy is worthy and (?should be supported).

In connection with the fact that I represent the Commission for Issues of Planning, Budget, Finances, and Prices, and [in connection with] the situation, which has arisen with the budget and planning now, and for our Armed Forces too, my question is in the context of the viewpoint that when you have familiarized yourself in detail with the military doctrine, and have consulted with the commander in chief, what is your attitude to the reduction of the Armed Forces, the optimization of their numbers? That is the first question.

The second question is what measures are you thinking of taking for the social protection of servicemen, their quarters, provision of accommodation, job placement, although this overlaps with Yavorivskyy's question.

The last question: It is also fairly topical on the problem of former military bases. Considerable state funds have been put into them. But now they are quite simply being plundered in many cases. Thank you for your reply.

[Radetskyy] Here is my reply. These bases, which are now, you say, being plundered, a decision needs to be taken in the very near future. If we do not need them, that is, they should be handed over to the national economy. There are no problems here.

Regarding the social protection of servicemen. I am in favor of them having apartments, so that they live as human beings, so that our soldiers are in normal barracks, so that they have technology; I am in favor of this. Therefore, I think that we should elaborate this issue together, because these weapons and technology, which we should look into, it should take first place in the resolution of these issues. But again not by the decision of the military. Again, it is not the military that should resolve these issues. The Council of Ministers should resolve them, not give them back to the military. This is so that we do not create commissions and then break them up, because they are not going in the right direction, and these deals begin, you know what I am getting at.

[Deputy] Dubenkov, 33d Electoral District, (Kozyatyn)]. Esteemed Vitaliy Hryhorovych! As a reserve officer, I will be voting for you. I invite all my colleagues, both officers and privates, those who have served and those who have not served, to vote for the military general. I have two short questions.

The first, your opinion on Odessa University, where you said you support a the creation of a military department, what is your opinion on other, say engineering and physical training institutes, is there a necessity still to set up military departments for the five years, when a student is studying, so that he has undergone military training, or should he go after five years to serve another year in the Army?

The second short question: What is your opinion on the material provision for officers right now? Are they materially provided with sufficient wages so that discipline can be demanded, and the carrying out of duties with which officers are charged can be demanded?

[Radetskyy] In order to be fair and reply honestly to this question on departments in other higher education establishments, a decision is necessary on training mobilized reserves; there is no decision as yet. If there is no decision on training mobilized reserves, we (?will adopt one) immediately on how many officers we need. Then the question arises of which education establishments have to [word indistinct] them (?into) the reserve and (?what sort of) training there will be.

As of today, the money currently received by officers means they just about make ends meet. This support, which in the presidential decree just now [has been given] on issuing rations, this means such a rise in the morale of officers, that I cannot convey to you. You know, I arrive at units with pleasure and explain this matter to them.

[Paul in Russian] Deputy Paul, Donetsk Oblast. Vitaliy Grigoryevich, my question is probably somewhat unusual. The thing is, if you have ever read the book by Viktor Suvorov, you probably know that all the leaders,

who find themselves in the top echelons of power, pull the whole complex of their people [who support them], so to speak, behind them. For example, we know that with the appointment of Morozov the Defense Ministry was dominated by sky-blue stripes and shoulder straps. So, I would like to know your stand as far as this issue is concerned. Will there be serious changes in the structure and personnel after the new defense minister comes to power?

[Radetskyy] We shall not replace the sky-blue with the red and black. We shall sort out who...[pauses] We need specialists. Specialists who should be engaged in military skills.

[Sviderskyy] Deputy Sviderskyy, the city of Novovolynsk. Esteemed contender! You have already partially answered one of the questions to the effect that it is necessary to avoid the situation where there are pensioners in the Army along with young officers. They [the pensioners] have no relevant posts and a conflict situation emerges. There is also a situation where the officers who serve in Russia and other countries, return to Ukraine, and when they leave their military units they must hand over absolutely everything, down to the last pair of socks. They do not receive any allowances. They are forced to leave their apartments without getting any compensation and return to Ukraine. [passage indistinct] They return to Ukraine and here they face the same problem. Please, give your answer.

[Radetskyy] You know, I agree with you, as far as this issue is concerned, the issue you are talking about, concerning the transfer of apartments. But you must understand. Well, I will refer to Odessa as an example, Odessa alone. There are about 46 apartments occupied by the people who serve in other places, while their wives are here [in Odessa]. To date no mechanism has been worked out, there is no legal right to evict them, you understand? Therefore, this problem must be studied, you know, and solved. It is necessary to study it so as to back it up legally and not just evict. By the way, in certain places in Russia they have evicted our servicemen but we have been acting very generously, offering all kinds of help: from ordering a container, booking tickets for trains, and dispatching families. We have been doing everything possible to avoid confrontation and we shall continue doing this.

Commands Military Exercise

LD1110180093 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1604 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev, 11 Oct—The Ukrainian Armed Forces have started a strategic command and staff exercise. Ukrainian Defense Minister Colonel General Vitaliy Radetskyy is in command of it, with its purpose being a rehearsal of teamwork by Defense Ministry and General Staff directorates. President Leonid Kravchuk, Ukrainian Armed Forces commander in chief, took part in the exercise. He introduced Col. Gen. Vitaliy Radetskyy to the leadership of the Defence Ministry.

In his speech, Leonid Kravchuk pointed out that although Ukraine did not have any enemies, making the Army more combat ready was one of the most important issues of building that independent state's Armed Forces.

President Kravchuk Replaces Navy Commander

WS1110130493 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] The president of Ukraine issued a decree discharging Vice Admiral Borys Borysovych Kozhin from the post of Ukrainian Navy commander. He was subordinated to the Ukrainian defense minister in connection with his appointment to a different post. Vice Admiral Volodymyr Herasymovych Bezkorovaynyy was appointed commander of the Ukrainian Navy.

[Moscow INTERFAX in English at 1626 GMT 9 October reports that "reliable sources close to the Black Sea Fleet headquarters" say that "Kozhin will be appointed to the post of naval adviser of the chief of the Main Staff Academy of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. This post has been specially introduced into the list of members of staff for Kozhin." The report adds that Kozhin said that "a group of naval officers headed by Vice Admiral V. Beskaravainy and Vice Admiral Nikolai Klitny had developed a concept to build the republic's naval forces and concludes development of a shipbuilding program."]

Parliament Commission Head Criticizes Defense Ministry

LD0910145493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1122 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Kiev October 9 TASS—Ukraine fails not only to ensure the building of national armed forces but also to maintain their combat ability at the 1992 level, head of the Ukrainian parliament Commission for Defence and State Security Valentin Lemish told the DEMOCRATIC UKRAINE newspaper here today.

In his opinion, everything the defence sphere had has been devastated and nothing new has been created. This primarily goes to the provision of the Army and the Navy with materiel and armaments the Ukrainian Defence Industry is not able to produce.

Lemish called attention to the fact even samples of armaments and materiel assembled in Ukraine by local enterprises (communication means, tanks, military cargo aircraft and fire arms' ammunition) cannot be made without accessories and units to be delivered from former soviet republics, mainly from Russia. Besides, the republic cannot repair many types of armaments and constructions adopted by its Army and Navy.

The missile forces, the air defence and the air force cannot perform their tasks due to the absence in Ukraine of state grounds to train missile launches.

If no urgent measures are taken, the majority of Ukrainian units will not have materiel and armaments in several years.

In addition to objective reasons that negatively tell on the Ukrainian military potential, there are also subjective ones. These are, in the opinion of the commission head, poor control over the Armed Forces on the part of the Ukrainian Government and the Ministry of Defence.

Observers stress this report of the head of the parliamentary Commission for Defence and State Security was published right after the sudden resignation of Ukrainian Defence Minister Colonel-General Konstantin Morozov, who resigned on his own initiative, and on the eve of parliament discussion of candidature of a new defence minister.

Today's parliament session expressed profound concern over the absence of a clear military doctrine in Ukraine and confirmed the nomination of Colonel-General Vitaliy Radetskyy, who was the commander of the Odessa Military district, Ukrainian defence minister, on representation of the Ukrainian president.

Naval Aviation Created, Commences Official Duties

AU0810162993 Kiev NARODNA ARMIYA in Ukrainian 6 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by Captain 2d Rank Yuriy Kondratyev from Sevastopol]

[Text] Aviation in Ukraine's naval forces is no longer a dream, but a reality. In accordance with the decision adopted by the minister of defense and the directive by the headquarters of Ukraine's Armed Forces, the Command of the Naval Aviation is being formed. Experienced aviators have already been appointed to 60 percent of all the posts. Major General Mykola Volovin is commander of the Naval Aviation.

The Aviation Command of Ukraine's Naval Forces is based in an aviation garrison near the town of Saki [in the Crimea]. Officers and warrant officers have already started fulfilling their official duties.

National Guard Trains With Special Purpose Battalion

LD1110190093 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1329 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Subdivisions of Ukraine's National Guard began, on 11 October, a four-day training exercise with the participation of a special purpose battalion. Guard Lieutenant General Volodymyr Kukharets, commander of the Ukrainian National Guard, said at an assembly of commanders of these subdivisions that they have a task to learn to operate in the composition of the antiassault reserve. As it became known to a UNIAN correspondent from reliable sources, combat tactics in populated areas will also be studied.

Zvyahilskyy Addresses Supreme Council on Economy

LD0910164693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Address by Acting Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy to Supreme Council in Kiev on 8 October—live; in Russian]

[Text] Esteemed Ivan Stepanovych Plyushch. Esteemed people's deputies. At this time no-one has (?asked) for an assessment of the economy's situation; it is sufficiently well-known to all those present here. I will briefly inform the Supreme Council about what the government is doing to solve this complex and extraordinary situation and to find resolutions to pressing problems. I will dwell most attentively on those problems the government has determined need immediate attention.

First, the rendering of assistance to agriculture to complete the harvesting of late crops. The government is investigating non- emission funds to give immediate financial support to agriculture to harvest grain crops, sunflowers, and sugar beet, and to form reserves of foodstuffs and fodder resources. A credit line of one and a half trillion karbovantsi for harvesting sugar beet and sunflowers is being opened today. The second part of the funds, two trillion, should be upcoming in the next three to five days for compensating expenditure on meat and milk.

This is the mobilization of funds intended for converting technical credit allocated by Russia as of the beginning of this year. This means enterprises and organizations have approximately 28 trillion in monetary funds. The government is elaborating a way to allocate from that sum during the next week at least five trillion karbovantsi by issuing securities, backed by gold and reserves of hard currency goods.

All these resources should be used to supply agricultural production with fuel and lubricants. The measures, which have been mapped out, will provide the population with food products without a price rise, as far as possible.

Second. Measures to satisfy the needs of the national economy for oil and gas. The government is looking for all possible resources so that the pipelines will not be shut off. According to forecast estimates, the country's export possibilities in hard currency can satisfy Ukraine's need for oil and gas by one third only. The difficulty of solving the problem depends not only on the export potential but also on how soon our debt for previous deliveries will be settled. On 1 October the debt for gas amounted to 827 billion rubles. About 700 billion

rubles are due to Russia. Out of the overall sum, 333 billion rubles are indebted for the 17 billion cubic meters of gas pumped into underground reservoirs. The debt to Russia for oil and oil products on 30 September amounted to 220 billion rubles. It is being slightly reduced. Along with a permanent search for ways to reduce the debt, a new procedure of settling accounts with consumers is being worked out. It envisages that consumers—except for, I underline this, population and budget carried organizations—should make payments according to accounts of the [words indistinct; presumably GosKomNefteGas or State Committee for Oil and Gas]. At the same time, the procedure of setting the price for gas sold by the consumers in Ukraine is being determined. The payment for the transit of Russian gas is channelled to pay off the debt and not to reduce the price, as was the case previously.

Third. Preparation of the national economy for work in winter conditions. The government pays special attention to this issue. For the first time in three years it has been comprehensively studied at the session of the Cabinet of Ministers. Taking into account the shortage of power sources, the government has determined priorities in consumption. This is the fuel and power engineering complex, agroindustrial complex, population's needs, municipal and public services, transport and state reserve. Proceeding from this, the ministries and departments optimize resources to ensure the work of enterprises and branches with minimal loss of vital products. The government is working with the CIS countries—Russia, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan—on coordinating conditions of purchasing missing fuel. An agreement has been achieved with Azerbaijan on deliveries of 200,000 tons of oil processing products. We have already received about 400 tank trucks, including 70,000 tons of lubricants. Measures are being taken to fulfill all export deliveries and obligations according to intergovernment agreements by the end of the year to ensure reciprical import of oil and gas. Fuel to be supplied to the population as well as municipal and public services consumers is available. The question is timely payments for it. Necessary gas reserves in underground reservoirs have been created but local administrations should to take under their control the organization of fuel deliveries to the population and for municipal needs, with regard to increased prices and shortage of fuel. The situation is worse in the municipal and transport sector, which have been lagging behind for several years. For example, over the past three years the construction of water mains and purification facilities has decreased. Only one fifth of the planned number of boiler rooms have been commissioned.

A difficult test is awaiting all of the national economy in the winter in the careful, thrifty consumption of fuel. Saving energy should become a national program. Therefore, a law on saving energy, the draft of which was submitted to the Supreme Council on 29 July, is absolutely necessary.

Fourth. Urgent anti-inflationary measures. The government is working on a program of overcoming the economic and financial crisis and ensuring Ukraine's economic security. Above all, however, it is necessary to single out and resolve the most pressing problem—slowing down inflation. The chosen tactics for action combine advancing forward along the path of economic reform with state regulation of key processes to break the vicious circle of inflation.

This includes slowing down price rises by establishing maximum prices for individual products, declaring their increases, tough limitations on the total size of intermediary charges, and strict observation of accounting procedures and expenditure on costs and pricing regulations, all independent of the form of ownership. Subsidies for coal prices and milk and meat production remain. At the same time the government determines countermeasures for slowing down price rises for products of metallurgy, machine-building and other industries.

A very complicated complex of problems, having a strong influence on inflationary processes, are being resolved by the government together with the National Bank, and an association of banks in forming the currency market and the currency regulation system. The task is to stabilize the exchange rate of the national currency and to neutralize the influence of exchange rate fluctuations on prices.

The strategy of the government is to soften the jolt from the price increase in the fourth quarter on imports and power resources—for oil by 1.3 times, for gas by 1.33 times. We will not allow a wave of retail price rises. We propose that a package of urgent anti-inflationary measures in the context of a total system of national security measures could be completed in the course of the next two weeks.

Fifth. Other anticrisis measures. The urgent measures outlined are being elaborated in a total complex of an anticrisis program, which also includes actions calculated for next year. For example, changes to the taxation system, changes to the budgetary system, directing structural reconstruction and stimulating investment activity come into this. The system of payments and social protection is being elaborated anew. The concept of this part of the program is to go over from total indexation, for which no one is responsible and which boosts an inflationary spiral, to chiefly direct nonemission support addressing those in need.

Government activity is not limited to that set forth above. Day- to-day purposeful work is going on, aimed at the near and distant future. The search for alternative and nontraditional energy sources is going on. Ministries, departments, and enterprises should seek to economize and reduce expenditure on all kinds of power, extend the production of export products and types of products taking the place of imports, and increase the production of consumer goods. In practice structural

reconstruction has already started, and the government is working on speeding up that process in a direction necessary for all of the national economy, and is making use of both economic and administrative measures.

As far as financing pensioners is concerned, then we would ask today [as heard], together with the National Bank, to also define our stance with a number of measures, which we meet to discuss in the afternoon, and work on them. These measures will be adopted so that the Pension Fund is assured. [passage indistinct]

Commentary Views Supreme Council Activities

WS1110100093 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 29 Sep 93 p 1, 2

[Commentary by Yaroslav Mynko]

[Text] The eighth session of the Supreme Council will undoubtedly have historical significance in Ukraine's social life. From the very beginning, it was accompanied by fierce exchanges of words, even during orators' speeches. However, Prime Minister Kuchma's resignation was approved quite quickly, despite some deputies' resistance. There was nothing new in the discussion on this issue—the government was accused of inability to stabilize the economy, while those who defended it merely showed sympathy, but they were not able to present any important arguments in Leonid Kuchma's favor. The only thing that was clarified that day, especially after the prime minister's speech, was that political inconsistency was the reason for Kuchma's defeat in the legislature. In the first place, judging from his words, he had been a democrat; later, he slid into conspiracy with the group that was working to "restore the old ties with Russia."

Those last few words were enclosed in quotation marks not only because they have become a political cliche, but also because they have become the most important watchwords of socialists and the directors lobby. They exchanged the notorious "social protection" that was used to lure democratic-minded deputies. Today, one can win nothing with the help of this false and hypocritical slogan, since everybody has discovered that "social protection," in our situation, means the out-of-control issuing of money, inflation, and endless price hikes.

So, the topic was "to restore economic ties with Russia." Some of the deputies were in a state of euphoria, predicting quick victory. Maybe, that was the reason they did not read the draft statute of the so-called economic union, or maybe they only acquainted themselves superficially with the document. Those deputies were ready to adopt this document in the form proposed by Russia, and Deputy Charodeyev joyfully stated that he could sign it straightaway.

So, socialists and the directors lobby (it must be mentioned again) were firmly heading toward a signing of the document.

There is nothing unusual in this fact. This "majority" comprises former secretaries from oblast and rayon committees, as well as directors of kolkhozes and advocates of the former USSR, who either worked in the party or were party agitators. When this bureaucratic elite voted for Ukrainian independence, they neither intended to completely break with the Soviet empire nor did they have any precise idea what is an independent state. Actually, they were forced to take this step by their desire to get rid of Gorbachev as quickly as possible. Some of them were even frank, because they had always despised communism.

Nowadays, when thanked for its efforts, Ukraine has found itself in a deep crisis, and when Bolsheviks are impudently strengthening their ranks and forces that dream about another one empire, they do not have to follow their consciousness, because the Russian draft agreement has legalized their wishes and intentions. Today, without hesitation, they want to throw Ukraine into the arms of another union.

Dmytro Furman, a Russian political expert, wrote that the former USSR nomenclature did not disappear when new states were established, and that this is a framework of personal connections that do not recognize political principles. It is obvious that two former secretaries of oblast committees, or factory directors, maintain formal relations even today. Such a solidarity of "reds" costs our state a lot. They were the ones who made all the efforts to hamper Ukraine's economic situation. It was not the workers and peasants who were exporting, virtually for free, our metal, sugar, oil, and other goods, pouring enormous numbers of dollars into foreign bank accounts. Some of them were secret or direct leaders of the strikes that had disastrous effects on our state's economic situation. Deputies holding key offices in oblasts and rayons, along with pro-communist forces, organized resistance against presidential decrees and Supreme Council resolutions. Deputy Zinchenko very reasonably cited Deputy Ostroushchenko, who had told a correspondent that: "All that has happened was caused by the collapse of the USSR. The USSR should have been maintained as an economic and political union with a common economic zone, currency, financial system, defense policy, and coordinated external economic activities."

These are the guidelines of a Ukrainian legislature deputy. There is no doubt that attempts to entangle us in the economic union will lead to the restoration of the Russian empire.

In most cases, deputies did not even bother to find convincible arguments; they simply kept saying that economic union does not threaten Ukraine's interests and one cannot live in isolation. Even a poorly informed person does not have to think long to recognize the political foundation of these "axioms." Each time, when somebody began to analyze the draft agreement, a certain group of deputies would make an incredible amount of noise, and they did not listen to what they did not

want to hear. They reminded me of a friend of mine who would cover his ears and say: Don't tell me anything upsetting.

Exactly the same was the reaction to a speech by Deputy Vorobyov, who said that entering the economic union would mean nothing other than isolation from world markets. The present agreement actually prohibits any relations with countries that do not belong to the union.

Relating the situation to Europe's integration is a trump card played by most supporters of the union. However, there is no free flow of goods or workers, or even a common currency in the European market. There is no common border, administration, and other forms of a supranational nature. There are only constitutional bodies.

It would not be possible to find in the legislature, or all of Ukraine for that matter, one person that would be against economic relations based on equal rights. Ukraine has signed one bilateral agreement on economic cooperation with all the CIS countries, and there have been as many as two comprehensive agreements signed with Russia. They regulate all relations between the two states, but apparently somebody is not satisfied with that. The matter is not the debt, as someone might think, but the Russian leadership's desire to entrap Ukraine and drag it into yet another union that would not be purely an economic one. "Restoration of economic ties" is a camouflage, although an outline of a "union of independent republics" can be seen through it. Moreover, the draft does not even mention relations based on equal rights (for example, Russia will keep 70 percent of votes [not further specified], Ukraine—20 percent). It provides, for instance, for the creation of a joint military command headquarters. To achieve that goal, the agreement proposes "to make appropriate changes in existing documents on the issue of CIS defense." That means that Ukraine is supposed to exchange its legislation on the Armed Forces with legislation concerning a united army, the same as it was in the USSR. Many deputies asked: Does that relate somehow to economy? The draft provides for unification of border guards, the command of which should address issues of "operations and mobilizing the training of officers" and will have the right to make recommendations for military decorations. However, according to our Constitution, only the president has such a right. Similar situations can be seen in every item.

The turning point of the session was Leonid Kravchuk's proposal to hold early elections, not only for councils on all levels, but also for the Presidency. Doing so, he rebuffed suspicions about his insincerity and puzzled all his opponents. It must be admitted that they did not recover even on the next day. No matter how you try, no one can say: Everything is clear.

Yet, genuine fury was unleashed by Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch's when he said that he is against signing the agreement on economic union. It was a big surprise, regardless of his previous unfavorable statements on the union. In my opinion, his phrase about one misery being added to a second misery—there will be great misery—is very picturesque. Probably, everybody thought that the chairman would support the president until the very end. After all, his position is pretty moderate, I would even say it is weighted, and it is really hard to understand why deputies were so moved that they gave him an ovation. It is most believable that it was the position of Supreme Council speaker that convinced deputies to approve early elections.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Discusses Abkhazia, Joining CIS

LD0910084293 Strasbourg ARTE Television Network in French 1940 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Interview with State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze in the Georgian Embassy in Moscow by Daniel Lecomte in the studio; from the "Transit" program—live; Shevardnadze answers in Georgian with simultaneous French translation]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Lecomte] Mr. Shevardnadze, you met Boris Yeltsin this morning, and following this meeting, Georgia decided to join the CIS, that is this commonwealth of the states that made up the former Soviet Union. This, only a few days after you said: after all that happened in Georgia and mostly after Russia's betrayal, I think Georgia will not join the CIS. Why did you change your mind?

[Shevardnadze] This is linked to changes within the Russian Government; also, the situation in Georgia compelled me to take this step. Recent difficulties between Russia and Georgia, which became extremely serious with the conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia, were mainly due to these reactionary forces and to their policies. These forces are now isolated in Russia. So, I hope that our decision will help in establishing very friendly relations.

[Lecomte] We will return to Georgia later, but if I understood your answer properly, last weekend's events [in Moscow] were instrumental in your reversal. [passage omitted] Mentioning Georgia, you said recently that the West did not do enough. Do you feel this was true also for Russia? Do you feel that the West is partly to blame? What would need to be done today to reverse the course of events?

[Shevardnadze] The West's support to Russia is important, but I believe that it is insufficient. In the past six or seven years, since the revolution in the Soviet Union and Russia started, great changes have taken place on our planet, and I would say that this was the greatest revolution this century. The international public opinion did not draw conclusions. At the end of the Second World War, the United Nations was set up; current developments are much more radical, and I think that we need something global now. This explains my dissatisfaction.

[Lecomte] More importantly, you expect Western aid, I assume?

[Shevardnadze] Aid too, naturally, since the West saved a great deal financially, it saved billions. There is no more confrontation between East and West; there are military, financial, economical, and moral savings. In fact, we, the states on the path to democracy, expect more. [passage omitted: Lecomte recalling remarks on Russian bureaucracy by French visitor to Russia in the 18th century; video clips of fighting in Abkhazia; discussion about previous thoughts on resignation]

[Shevardnadze] My misfortune is that I allowed myself to be carried away by events that I had fought against all my life, interethnic conflicts, the break-up of a nation—how can this be explained? I think it is because we are not ripe for democracy, but I could not act otherwise, there was no other way. [passage omitted: more on personal feelings] I must continue to struggle, in the hope for a sunnier future, so that people will see better. There is no other way out.

[Lecomte] [passage omitted] Does it pain you a lot when you hear that man saying, as we did in that report [referring to video clip], that basically it is all a struggle for power, as it is elsewhere, a struggle for power between you and Gamsakhurdia? Is it indeed a struggle for power, or is there something else at stake, and if so, what?

[Shevardnadze] For me that is stupid, a struggle for power. The greatest happiness for me would be to be able to write about what has happened these last few years. I could speak about things that no one else can. The reunification of the world, the absence of confrontation—I was in the political kitchen of all that: that is my dream, not power.

As for Gamsakhurdia, it must be a fixed thought for him, it is his aim. He is a different sort of person, he has different ideals, and the people around him are different too, and in general it must be said that Georgia is a country of contrasts. [passage omitted]

[Lecomte] Russian troops in the region supported the Abkhazians. Why do you think they supported them, when in a way, this is playing with fire for the Russians. Why did the Russians and Mr. Yeltsin decide on this support?

[Shevardnadze] I should differentiate between two sides in Russia. On the one hand is the side headed by Yeltsin, and on the other—I would even use rather crude words—there are the bastards, who did everything they could to raise Abkhaz separatism to the level of fascism. They were the ones who provided the financing, they were the ones who supplied all the modern armament; it was supplied by them, all the ammunition. Training was carried out with their help, and they even took direct part in the fighting. That is what I would call the policy of reactionary Russia.

I am sure that when the investigation into the putschists has been completed, everything will be clear about how the Abkhaz card was played and how the Georgian cards in general were played. We have been the victims of these games, of this confrontation in Russia. Unfortunately, I could not do anything to prevent this. They were huge forces, which Georgia had no chance of countering. That is why Sukhumi and Abkhazia have been lost and why there is a danger of civil war in Georgia. But I am really counting on the post-revolutionary period in Russia.

[Lecomte] People have said it was to do with access to warm waters, access to the Black Sea, for the Russians, so it was more a reflex from a has-been empire, an imperial reflex, rather than a democratic reflex?

[Shevardnadze] When I stress the word democratic, I am saying that a democratic state never tries to obtain its aims [as heard]. The events in Abkhazia and Georgia are typical examples of what a totalitarian regime and supporters of totalitarian regimes can do. [passage omitted: discussion of his role in Sukhumi]

[Lecomte] Mr. Shevardnadze, I would like to ask you a question that might seem trivial but is important for us: who called who? Did you call Mr. Yeltsin to ask to come to Moscow or did Mr. Yeltsin ask you to come to meet him?

[Shevardnadze] The initiative was mine, but I also know, I knew that it was also Yeltsin's wish and that he was ready for this meeting. I think that following these events in Moscow, Mr. Yeltsin once more realized that a united and undivided Georgia was more in Russia's interests. [background video report on current nationalist unrest in the CIS]

[Lecomte] I recall that you met Boris Yeltsin this morning and the decision for Georgia to join the CIS was made. First, do you consider this a way to prevent the internal split in Georgia and what specifically did Boris Yeltsin have to offer?

[Shevardnadze] I would like to say that the decision to join the CIS was not the decision of the parliament, I made this decision. There are certainly difficult times in history when one person has to take all the responsibility; today, I took this responsibility. Parliament might disagree, I must say that it will not be without reason, but I saw in this decision the last chance, the last resort to rescue my people and my country while preventing its disintegration, preventing civil war, and enabling justice to emerge again in Abkhazia.

[Lecomte] Thank you for having taken part in this program and for having given us your time to describe the situation in your republic. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze Explains Reasons for Joining CIS

LD0910175093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1329 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze declared in Tbilisi on Friday that the republic's entry in CIS was "the last chance to save the country, which is on the brink of ruin." In his words, the Georgian leadership regarded CIS membership as the country's last resort.

Shevardnadze said this to journalists at the airport upon his return from Moscow, where at a closed meeting with President Yeltsin, the leaders of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan discussed the situation in Transcaucasia.

As Shevardnadze explained, "rapprochement with Russia" is crucial to a settlement in Abkhazia. All other methods to settle the conflict through UN and other international organizations have proved futile. "Without Russia this problem will not be solved", he stressed.

At the same time, one of the terms set by the Russian leadership for Russia's involvement in efforts to resolve the Abkhazi problem was Georgia's entry in the CIS. The Kremlin's position, according to Shevardnadze, was hailed by other Commonwealth leaders. "We were confronted with the condition: if you want, gas, oil, and other raw materials, join CIS", Shevardnadze remarked.

He argued, though, that Georgia "should have joined CIS since its inception." The republic "entered CIS at a time when Russia began to get rid of the dark reactionary forces that had led Georgia to war in Abkhazia", he noted. In his opinion, now "there are far more reasons to trust CIS and Russia."

Further on Urging Support for CIS

LD0910210093 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1900 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 9 October—At 1600 GMT today, the Georgian head of state, Eduard Shevardnadze, held a news conference at the parliament hall.

In his introductory speech, E. Shevardnadze spoke about different opinions about the CIS issue among Georgian politicians. Some believe that we will be saved through joining the CIS. Others think it is a suicide. E. Shevardnadze believes that none of the above-mentioned positions is right.

After this, the head of state described several clauses in the CIS charter, which, in his opinion, are important for Georgia, since they show that the CIS charter is not threatening Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Quite the opposite, said E. Shevardnadze, it should help our country's development.

"Nobody has imposed this decision on me, and this is why my conscience is clear", stressed the head of state. "This is a step which has been taken to overcome the crisis in the country."

It was possible, E. Shevardnadze went on to say, that a joint army of four countries, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Russia would protect the transcaucasian railway.

In answering the IBERIA correspondent's question whether it would be possible to withdraw painlessly from the CIS, if the organization failed to satisfy E. Shevardnadze's ideals, the head of state said that this did not represent a problem. If the crisis remained, we would withdraw from the CIS the same way we entered it.

It is for the parliament to take the final decision, said E. Shevardnadze. But the head of state advised it to support

Georgia's entry into the CIS. The CIS is essentially different from the USSR, concluded E. Shevardnadze.

Shevardnadze on Situation in Svanetia, Russian Role

LD1010225293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1900 GMT on 10 October in its extended "Novosti" newscast carries a five-minute report from Georgia by Georgiy Rativshivi.

Rativshivi states that the occupation of Sukhumi, Ochamchira, Gali, and areas surrounding them, as well as atrocities committed, have forced the population to flee. About 50,000 have had to take flight into the mountains of Svanetia. It is a hard trek, about 100 km along mountain paths at an altitude of 2,800 meters above sea level. There has been snowfall earlier than usual. Children and old people have been the first victims. In one night 150 people died.

A recording of an interview with Georgian State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze is then carried. Shevardnadze says: "Svanetia has been declared a national tragedy zone. I think the Russians should also know—I think this is necessary—that everything that has happened has happened because of the alliance of black-brown forces, against which Moscow rose, Russia rose, which the government and people of Russia put an end to yesterday once and for all—this alliance with the Gudauta fascists. Even fascists would not perpetrate such atrocities. So I appeal to all Russians. We must start building new relations with some good deeds and now let us unite to save these people."

Rativshivi says Russian forces of the Transcaucasus have joined in the rescue operations. Refugees are being taken to Kutaisi in these helicopters and helicopters from Russia, Ukraine, and Armenia. Twenty tonnes of aid, mainly food and clothing, has been sent by the French government. So far over 15,000 people have been taken from the disaster area, he concludes.

Video shows Sukhumi burning, a wounded soldier, refugees on mountain, helicopter, woman crying, Shevardnadze being interviewed, trucks, helicopter taking off.

Shevardnadze on UK Support, CIS, Clinton Remarks

LD1110152993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze held a briefing today for Georgian and foreign journalists. Shevardnadze declared that [Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs] Douglas Hogg had given him a letter from the prime minister of Great Britain, John Major. The letter says that Great Britain is watching closely and with interest the processes under way in Georgia. Support for the course of the Georgian leadership is expressed in the letter.

When talking about the CIS, Eduard Shevardnadze said that about 70 percent of the Georgian population support the step taken by him and that this must be taken into consideration by parliament when discussing this issue. The head of state declared at the briefing that Georgia's joining the CIS is one of the aspects for resolving the Abkhaz issue, but that the problem will not be resolved in Georgia's favor unless the situation in the republic becomes stable.

Eduard Shevardnadze called Gamsakhurdia's policy immoral and perfidious, saying that it is dragging the country to a catastrophe.

Eduard Shevardnadze denied rumors spread by the mass media about U.S. President Bill Clinton's alleged bitter statement about Georgia. Shevardnadze said no such statement had been made and that this misinformation was spread by a Russian paper published in the United States.

Shevardnadze Gives Regular Weekly Interview

LD1110214093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1420 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Interview with parliament chairman Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Oniani; place and date not give—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Oniani] Although later than usual, we are offering an interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgia's head of state and chairman of Parliament. Batono Eduard, last week a significant fact occurred in the history of Georgia—Georgia became a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States. There are a lot of contradictory views on this issue. There is an opinion that Georgia has rejected freedom. [passage omitted including indistinct passages]

[Shevardnadze] [passage omitted] I made the almost personal decision on joining the CIS, although I knew the attitude of many of my colleagues; some supported it and some did not. But I was confident in one thing. If I made this decision, at least 70 percent of our population would back me up. Because when making such a decision, one cannot ignore the people's view. [passage indistinct] The time will come when I am sure it will become clear that the decision was correct.

Now, to those who consider this step as a fatal mistake, a suicide, incompatible with our national interests and honor, and many other similar things are said these days. I have to say that their majority have no idea what the CIS is. [passage omitted]

I have made a request to have the CIS Charter published in the mass media tomorrow. I appeal to everyone—thank God everyone is literate—to read it, and in they find anything endangering the independence and freedom of Georgia, I will publicly apologize and ask Parliament not to approve it. [passage omitted]

Some people are scared that the economic space is the same as economic bondage. I am one of the authors of this space. This word, this notion, was introduced when we spoke about the destruction of a wall between the West and the East. It was then that we began speaking of a common economic space. [passage omitted] There is nothing intimidating or worrying in it. [passage omitted]

[Oniani] [passage omitted] Anyway, a large part of the Georgian political force encountered this decision negatively. There were top officials among them. We have heard the rumors that certain senior officials made statements of resignation.

[Shevardnadze] [words indistinct] If this had not happened, I mean that the dark forces of Russia had been destroyed and driven away from the politics, I would probably have found it difficult to make this decision. Since I saw that Russia was fighting, Russia had turned powerfully to the course taken in August 1991 [passage indistinct].

As for a reaction to this in Georgia, I think that many people made hasty actions and this cannot be beneficial to Georgia. [passage omitted] I was rather concerned about the application for resignation submitted by Irakli Batiashvili. [passage omitted] I said at the news conference today that whoever wants to leave, let him leave. If anyone wants to leave at such a moment, I do not think we have to create any obstacles on his way. I have adopted some resolutions in connection with the staff today. [passage indistinct].

[Oniani] There is really a very complicated situation in Abkhazia today. We have information from a Russian journalist who was in Sukhumi, in Abkhazia, that dreadful things are happening in Abkhazia. Shooting continues, complete anarchy reigns, signs of epidemics are observed. It obviously is a result of Abkhazian fascism, but it is our land and our territory, although occupied at the moment, and therefore it is our pain. At the moment there are no Georgian troops there, but someone should control the situation. Someone should be responsible for what is happening in Abkhazia. Another question. Ardzinba is said to be phoning Tbilisi and requesting talks. How true is this information?

[Shevardnadze] [passage indistinct]. Everyone knows what misfortune we have suffered. Defeat is defeat and we have to admit why it happened and how it happened. I am not in the mood of giving in to the situation being hopeless because I am sure justice will eventually be victorious. [passage omitted]

Very intense work is being conducted with Russia and other countries of the CIS, or rather the Commonwealth of partners. I believe that Ukraine can do a lot. Now others begin to help, our neighbors, Armenia and Azerbaijan. I know that the leadership of Kazakhstan reacted immediately. All these are members of the CIS and a lot of things can be made within this Commonwealth and we can demand a lot from Russia. I would like to express the hope that these early October events will not pass without trace.

It is a fact that there was a block between Ardzinba and those in Moscow, who were kicked out of the political arena. [passage omitted]

If peaceful measures do not help, we all know what should follow. We have to create a force that will be a guarantor of Georgia's integrity. [passage indistinct]

[Oniani] Yesterday, Georgian TV broadcast information which I think evoked a lot of thought among our viewers and radio listeners. President Clinton was said to make a statement that Georgia must learn how to cope with the problems occurring within the country. [passage indistinct] It is not very clear for us. We remember the great help America rendered to Georgia, be it humanitarian aid or other. When we were short of wheat, they helped us. And we remember several statements made by the American Administration and by the President personally on the issue of Abkhazia and other issues. There always was support, backup. After this statement, and especially after Georgia's joining the CIS, we have the impression that a beautiful Western fairytale has come to an end and a severe Russian reality has begun. Severe but reality, and not a fairytale.

[Shevardnadze] When I listened to that text broadcast by TV, I was stunned and astonished. This is not the President's style, his words, the form of assessment, and it seems impossible. I tried to find out where it had come from and I was told that he made this speech at the General Assembly of the United Nations, and that this was an extract.

Today I phoned Chkheidze [Georgian UN representative and ambassador to the United States]. He said that he had been present at Clinton's speech and there was nothing said about Georgia. Clinton did not mention Georgia. Then we began to search through other sources—his recent speeches—and we could not find anything like that. It seems a little strange. [break in reception]

I do not think that Clinton would say something like this. As far as I know, Mr. Chkheidze met his personal representative after our meetings in Moscow, who said that he understood why Shevardnadze had made a decision about the CIS, and that they did not see anything in it that could cast a shadow on the friendship and relations between Georgia and the United States. [passage indistinct]

[Oniani] In connection with the CIS, the foreign press often notes that the revitalization of the Soviet Union is beginning. How real is the possibility of reviving the Soviet empire today?

[Shevardnadze] Impossible. It is impossible. Even if Russia desires and swallows small states, it will not be able to swallow Ukraine. It is such a large state. And

what about Kazakhstan, five times larger in territory than France and five times richer than Europe, and so on? Besides, there is Belarus and huge Uzbekistan. As for small states, there are no small states today. Every country has its importance.

We have to develop this Commonwealth as it is required by the people and by these states. This will not be the only commonwealth. The time will come and Europe will unite. There will be structures within the structure of the European Community. This time will also come.

I believe that relations among the Black Sea countries will take on the shape of an alliance. The Caspian Sea countries have been inviting us. So, within these commonwealths and alliances we will have to find our place. [Oniani] My next question concerns Abkhazian problems again. The Russian mass media reports that representatives of the present Abkhazian and Ajarian authorities, namely the deputy chairman of the Ajar parliament—the deputy to Aslan Abashidze was meant—met in Gagra on 7 October. It is also interesting that Ardzinba and Kobalia have met. Gamsakhurdia, speaking at a rally in Zugdidi yesterday, said that he would receive outside aid and he would receive weapons. You know that Chechens are fighting among the supporters of the ex-president. They were seen in the villages which they entered. What should we expect in the near future?

[Shevardnadze] I cannot discuss the issue of the meeting between the delegations of Ajara and Abkhazia now. [passage omitted—Aslan Abashidze used to inform Shevardnadze on events like that] As for Ardzinba's meeting with Kobalia, it is not surprising. This had to happen. The fall of Sukhumi and the position of Kobalia's unit in Abkhazia was planned in advance. This was to happen and this happened. What is strange in the fact that they have met? They will try to make an alliance, if they manage. However, I think Kobalia should not do this, but if he does he will have to blame himself when he incurs the wrath of our people.

Gamsakhurdia's blackmail about bringing weapons from foreign countries is very characteristic of him. There is nothing here to boast about. You are bringing weapons to use against your country and against your people. Generally this is an adventure, a treacherous action against our people, which will be written into the history of Georgia as a black day. I think our people will condemn this. It has no future and can by no means have one. I cannot imagine a treason higher than this today. So, is there a difference whether you do this job with your own old-fashioned shotgun or machine-guns brought from Groznyy, or Grad launchers and tanks snatched from your own state. It makes no difference. Immoral action is the same everywhere.

[Oniani] Batono Eduard, I have to ask you one awkward question: Before coming here for the interview, your press center—I mean the press center of the head of state—received a telephone call from the BBC and we were asked a question like this: We know that Shevardnadze spoke to James Baker; please tell us what they spoke about. As usual we obtain information from abroad even on events that take place here in Georgia, and even just one storey downstairs.

[Shevardnadze] I am called by many friends from abroad. By the way, I have received a few touching letters today, including ones from top level politicians. Baker called in connection with the events in Abkhazia. A week ago his wife sent me a letter one could not read without tears in his eyes. It was written when I was in Sukhumi.

Jim asked what he could do for Georgia. He has decided to create something like a foundation for humanitarian aid. He is very authoritative and he can do a lot of useful things.

Genscher phoned several times. It is a usual thing. I am happy that there are people who do not forget friendship, good. I believe that the fact that we, certain politicians, fought for the ideals of mankind while I was in Moscow, has left its traces. And yesterday's enemies, opponents and class enemies, as we used to say, representatives of ideological contrasts, have overcome all this and today our pain is their pain, too.

[Oniani] I know that today you also received a letter form John Major. Today you met UK Foreign Office Minister Douglas Hogg. We also know that Georgia has been promised aid worth 200,000 pounds sterling. This is what we know from media reports. There must be something else that is interesting.

[Shevardnadze] The letter itself is very interesting. It is another friendly letter, a letter of support and sympathy. It also speaks about new relations between people which must be preserved. I will not repeat the contents because it will probably be read out on television and published in the press. Of course, all of us are grateful to the English prime minister for this fairly generous sum of 200,000 pounds sterling in humanitarian aid. He has promised to try to look for other ways. [Words indistinct].

We examined many issues. Especially important is the fact that the [UK] state minister took an interest in events in Abkhazia, in every little detail. This will be very important when the issue goes to the United Nations, the Security Council, of which England is a permanent member. A lot will depend on this country. All this will prepare the ground for a major struggle which I have already mentioned. This is why it was not an ordinary visit.

[Oniani] Batono Eduard, my final question may be rhetorical. Yesterday, Georgian television showed distressful pictures of refugees, which represent raw material for a future film. They go beyond all limits and cannot be watched. Only a person from this country—I am sorry—but only a person with destroyed mentality can watch it. No one else can do it. There is an impression that our life goes from one stress to another. We

have said that Gamsakhurdia is expecting military assistance from outside the republic, while Americans, Ukrainians, Frenchmen, and others are helping refugees in the mountains of Svaneti. Sukhumi has fallen, Abkhazia has fallen, primarily because of our internal strife. Nevertheless, the confrontation in western Georgia has not stopped. What else must happen to the Georgians to get them out of this state of euphoria and force them to look around and say: Where is this country going to? All of us share more or less equal responsibility for its fate, regardless of our political views and ideals.

[Shevardnadze] I often think about the dark force which has emerged in Georgia since the country became independent. Where had it been before? I was born and brought up here and have always been close to the people. I have always prided myself on my people's unique culture, education, good manners. I am still stunned by what happened in Abkhazia, by the part which was played in all this by our well-known forces, and by what these forces are doing in Mingrelia. I believe that 90 percent of Mingrelia's population do not and cannot support them. But there are the 10 percent whom I call the dark force. And not only there, but also here in Tbilisi and elsewhere. Where has it come from, how has it come to the surface? [words indistinct] This is what we should think about. How did this terrible force managed to grow from within ourselves?

I would like to tell you that if we are seriously thinking about winning back Abkhazia—and we must win it back, since there is no other way out—then we must overcome this dark force, this terrible threat. It appeared to be calm along the River Tskhenistskali yesterday. Today they again shelled Samtredia, as if they were shelling a town in a hostile state. Again buildings were destroyed, 10 people were wounded on this side, and there must have been casualties on the opposite side. There was an attempt to break through, and they managed to break though, but were later beaten off. Again, there are more clashes and more fighting. An attempt has also been made in Khoni. They just refuse stop. You know that several days ago they tried to enter Guria. And again this led to casualties on both sides.

What do they want? Who are they fighting? Some are now saying that, in order to restrain Gamsakhurdia, we should do the following: both Gamsakhurdia and Shevardnadze must resign. I have said a thousand, tens of thousand times, that my resignation would not be a problem if it could save Georgia. I will abide by any decision which is necessary. But where will Gamsakhurdia resign from?

[Oniani] From the ex-presidency.

[Shevardnadze] Yes, probably from the ex-presidency, or something. After the elections we thought that all these issues had been solved and settled. The whole world recognized that Georgia had won and embarked on the democratic path. There had been many elections before Gamsakhurdia—under communists, for example. Why don't they have claims? I also have claims. Ninety nine percent of Georgia's population voted for me [under the Communists]. Let all of us use common sense. Let all parties, all politicians, use common sense and make concessions where they are necessary. As for our policy toward the dark force, this policy must be marked, it must be clearly marked. I think that we have been awakened by so many misfortunes and now is not the time for going back to sleep.

[Oniani] Thank you very much.

Shevardnadze Appoints New Interior Minister

LD1110150193

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian at 1433 GMT on 11 October carries its weekly interview with Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze.

Shevardnadze announces the appointment of interior minister, the intelligence service chairman, and National Bank president.

He says he has appointed Shota Kviraia interior minister. The name of the new chairman of the Information and Intelligence Service is Igor Giorgadze. He is replacing Irakli Batiashvili, who, according to Shevardnadze, has resigned over Georgia's entry into the CIS. Javakhishvili (first name indistinct) replaces Demur Dvalishvili as president of the National Bank.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia Reportedly Leaves Country

LD0910224393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2226 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By GIA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tbilisi, 10 October—It has been learned from authoritative sources that ex-President of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who had been in the town of Zugdidi, has left the country. It is not ruled out that he has left for the town of Groznyy [in Chechnya, Russia].

Departure Denied

LD1010144293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] The press service of Zviad Gamsakhurdia has denied information from official Georgian sources that government forces have seized Abashskiy Rayon and that ex-President Gamsakhurdia fled western Georgia.

Kitovani Denies Defecting to Gamsakhurdia Side

LD1110122993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Video report by N. Kandiashvili; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The well-known Tengiz Kitovani, former Georgian defense minister and parliamentary deputy, has denied accusations that he has defected to the camp of ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia supporters. He stated

that his support for his government's democratic course is undeviating and practical.

Mr. Kitovani set out his view on current events in western Georgia as follows. The ex-president, Kitovani said, has chosen Mingrelia as his stronghold because he understands that his popularity in Tbilisi is nonexistent. He is trying to take control of Guria in order to cut off Poti from the rest of the republic, hoping that in this way he will be able to dictate his own policy to the whole of Georgia.

Now Tengiz Kitovani is in Kutaisi, and is playing an active role in defense measures within the ranks of government troops. [Video shows Kitovani seated at table being interviewed; also briefly seen dressed in military fatigues talking to unidentified men]

Terms Situation in West 'Critical'

LD1110155893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Georgian Former Defense Minister Deputy Tengiz Kitovani returned from western Georgia to Tbilisi. Kitovani characterized the situation in west Georgia as rather acute and critical.

The situation is being exacerbated by the statements from Gamsakhurdia and his supporters acccording to which the arrival of the armed troops and military equipment from north Caucasus is to be expected.

Several hours ago my journalist colleague who was there in western Georgia said that Tengiz Kitovani was going to meet the head of state immediately today.

Gamsakhurdia Supporters Destroy TV Relay Station

LD1110084693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] On 10 October Gamsakhurdia's illegal armed formations destroyed a television relay station in Poti. As a result Batumi and the whole of Ajaria, the Guria region, and other west Georgian areas cannot receive Georgian television programs.

Ozurgeti Must Communicate by Phone

LD1110110093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Avtandil Ghlonti, deputy administrator of Ozurgeti told a SAKINFORM [Georgian information agency] correspondent that there had been no combat actions there for the last two days. The state forces are reinforced in Grigoleti resort and they control the Grigoleti, Maltakva, and Tskaltsminda sections. There are enough forces there but no combat actions are under way.

Ozurgeti is in a complete information blockade as the former president's illegal formations have destroyed the TV relay center, and Guria and Ajara [both western Georgia] cannot get TV reception. Information is being transmitted by phone to Ozurgeti from Kutaisi and Samtredia.

There are about 600 refugees in Ozurgeti. They are sheltered in the villages of Meria [northwest of Ozurgeti] and Ureki [on the Black Sea coast south of Poti]. Bread is being baked and transport is functioning, but the situation remains tense.

Party Leader Denounces Shevardnadze Stance on CIS

LD0910154293 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1212 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Khoni, 9 Oct—As is known, Giorgi Chanturia, chairman of the Georgian National Democratic Party [NDP], has been in Khoni Rayon for several days. He is there with an armed unit of party members, defending the entrance to Khoni.

On the evening of 8 October, after Georgian television reported that, while in Moscow, the head of the Georgian state, Eduard Shevardnadze, gave his consent to Georgia's joining the CIS, an IBERIA correspondent contacted Giorgi Chanturia and asked him to comment.

Giorgi Chanturia said that this was treason. So far, he has had onlu one enemy, namely Zviad Gamsakhurdia. But after this announcement Eduard Shevardnadze has become his second enemy. He and his party used to support the political course of the head of state. But the NDP cannot support the person who has changed that course.

Giorgi Chanturia said that all members of his party would be withdrawn from the positions in Western Georgia and return to Tbilisi.

Answering a question by the IBERIA correspondent whether the withdrawal could endanger Khoni Rayon and its population, Giorgi Chanturia said that according to information he has obtained, Vakhtang Kobalia's armed units have retreated from the areas of Lekhaindravo and Matkhoji. In the NDP leader's view, this was the fulfillment of Moscow's order by Vakhtang Kobalia. Thus, his units' assault on Khoni Rayon should not be expected.

Giorgi Chanturia said that the NDP is going to promote political struggle against Georgia's joining the CIS. In his opinion, this struggle will expand into a major campaign. According to Giorgi Chanturia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia will use the fact of Georgia's joining the CIS to step up his activity.

In the correspondent's presence Giorgi Chanturia received a phone call from Jaba Ioseliani [chairman of the commission on emergency situations], who asked the NDP leader not to leave Khoni before his arrival.

National Democratic Party Opposes CIS Membership

LD0910182093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1626 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] National Democratic Party of Georgia "categorically opposes" the republic's joining the Commonwealth of the Independent States and expresses intention to struggle against this proposal, says the party's statement distributed on Saturday.

The document points out that "involvement of independent states which have liberated from communist empire" into the Commonwealth is "an attempt to restore empire in new forms."

At the same time the NDPG leadership advocates "friendly, equal, and mutually beneficial relations of Georgia with all states of the world and primarily with Russia."

Sarishvili Reportedly Resigns Over CIS Decision

LD1010170893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1612 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] According to well-informed sources in Tbilisi, Georgian Vice Premier Irina Sarishvili has resigned in view of Georgia's decision to join the CIS.

Deputies Comment on Decision To Join CIS

LD1010183193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1612 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] At our request, representatives of different factions in the Georgian parliament comment on Eduard Shevardnadze's decision to join the CIS.

Ruslan Beridze, vice-chairman of the Georgian parliament: "Morally, we have fallen down on our knees; politically, we have lost the freedom which cost us so dear, and economically, we do not gain anything. Gaydar has stated in clear terms that Russia does not intend to help the former Soviet republics. There is only the feeling of unbearable pain for Abkhazia, for the dead soldiers and for the desperate people. There is also the feeling of guilt. Understanding will come later.

Tamar Chkheidze, a representative of the Ilya Chavchavadze Society: "My attitude is sharply negative. Everybody could see that Shevardnadze was gradually moving to this decision for the past year and a half."

Akaky Asatiani, a deputy representing the Union of Georgian Traditionalists: "One does not have to be a politician of world standing to take such a decision. In fact, it's a catastrophe. The authorities - not only Shevardnadze, but all those who have any responsibilities, including myself - have ruined the country over the past 18 months. Thousands of people have died. If it was so important to join the CIS, we should have done it long ago, before everything began. Now I don't see any sense in joining the CIS. In fact, the consequences will be even more serious than before. Now Georgia is joining the CIS under pressure, not voluntarily."

David Bardzenishvili, a deputy representing the Republican Party: "My party's attitude to Georgia's membership in the CIS has always been negative. We view this step as the Georgian leaders' inability to solve political, economic and regional problems on their own. It's an attempt to involve Russia once again in settling our inner problems, which will only deteriorate the situation."

Zurab Zhvania, a representative of the Greens Party: "As far as I understand, the decision has not been taken yet. What is meant here is only the idea which must be seriously discussed. We must obtain a clear picture of what we gain and what we lose, which we can do only when we receive exhaustive information about the talks in Moscow. I have no information of this kind so far. I only know that the talks were not easy. We need a serious discussion without any hysteria. No one should shout in panic that Georgia must never join the CIS, or that if it doesn't it is ruined. All the pros and cons must be seriously weighed-out."

Guram Muchaidze, a member of the Social-Democratic Party: "In short, this step should have been made a long time ago."